

LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF MODERN INDIA

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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SRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

A HOMAGE OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION

TO THE LEADER OF HIS PEOPLE

CALCUTTA

DIPĀVALI 1962/1884

FOREWORD

This volume is a remarkable compendium of learning and reflection dealing with various Indian languages and literatures and with their past achievement and present position. It has been composed by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji who is Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta, and he is, besides, the newly re-elected Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council.

THE scope of Dr Chatterji's studies and his amazing comprehensive knowledge of several languages, Indian and European, mark him out truly as a polymath. There was the Admirable Crichton, who, in a short life of less than 30 years, is reported to have travelled from his native Scotland and held disputations in twelve languages in the Paris and Padua Universities. There was Cardinal Mezzofanti, who, educated in Bologna, became Professor of Arabic and Greek and is reputed to have had a knowledge of fifty or sixty languages and dialects belonging to widely separated linguistic families. There was, in India, my teacher, Professor Seshagiri Sastri, who was proficient in Greek, Latin and French as well as in Sanskrit and about eight or nine Indian languages and who wrote book on Comparative Philology which should be better known than it is. There was, again, my wife's grand-father, Ranganatha Sastri, who became an Interpreter of the old Supreme Court in Madras and who, in addition to his mastery of English and Sanskrits Arabic and Persian, spoke and wrote Latin, French, German and Italian with as much ease as he dealt with English. And there was Harinath De, Professor in the Presidency College and Librarian of the Imperial Library in Calcutta half a century ago, who was a master of Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Persian, beside, a number of modern European languages, as well as Chinese. Such names occur to one when dealing with the work of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

In this book, Dr. Chatterji puts himself the question, "How far is the multiplicity of languages a problem in India?" He emphasises that a single language is not an absolute condition to form a Nation or a State, and he draws analogies not only from Switzerland and Belgium but also from the Soviet Union and China. He embarks on a historical survey of races and languages in India, and deals with the four distinct speech-families in our country. The Austric or Nishāda speeches are spread from Central India to Assam and Burma and to the southern and eastern extremities of the Pacific. The Tibeto-Chinese or Kirāta languages extend from Tibet and Burma to China and Siam; and the Dravidian languages, as he emphasises, extend from Brahui spoken in Balochistan to the South of India, and they belong to the agglutinative group of tongues which includes the Magyar language of Hungary and the languages of Finland and Estonia. He affirms that the Dravidian speech came to India before the Aryan, and gives his view that Tamil has best preserved the Dravidian character, retaining many roots, forms and words (though not the old sound-system) of the Primitive Dravidian.

The author next deals with the great Indo-European family of languages and dialects which, according to him, forms the greatest link, mental and spiritual, between India, Persia, Armenia, Greece, Italy and the Germanic and Slav countries. In a fascinating account he deals with the ancient tribes of the Bhṛguṣ, the Druhyus and others trekking to India through Persia from Western Asia. He deals also with the Iranian and the Dardic dialects. Travelling from the Panjab, Dr. Chatterji deals with the development and history of the various groups of the Indo-Aryan language system, and displays his mastery of such topics as the progress and spread of individual modern Indo-Aryan speeches as, e.g., the Awadhi language which began to be used in written literature in the 12th century, and which includes Tulasīdāsa as one of its greatest literary figures. Dealing with the Khaṛī-bōlī or the present-day Standard Hindi with its various sub-dialects, he speaks of the *Hindī-Sansār* (or the *Hindi World*), and at the same time refers to other speeches like Rajasthani in which Mīrā Bāī, the mystic poetess, sang her songs of love and devotion to Kṛishṇa Giridhārī, "the Holder of the Mountain."

There is an instructive chapter devoted to the present linguistic position and the place of Hindi in India, especially in comparison and contrast with that of Bengali (the difficulty of the present-day pronunciation of which for a non-Bengali person he acknowledges) as well as Marathi, Gujarati, Maithili and other Sanskritic languages.

Dr. Chatterji does not flinch from facing the problem of Hindi in the Nagari script as a potential all-India language. He clarifies that Hindi is not yet a language with a sufficiently important modern literature, and that it has practically no scientific literature. He makes the pronouncement that, as a language of Science and of the Arts and as the greatest vehicle of World Culture, English has a position which Hindi or any other Modern Indian language cannot aspire to have for quite a long time. He deals with the possibility of a Simplified Sanskrit becoming an acceptable national language. He recognises that Sanskrit is not an easy language and that perhaps the simplification of its grammar may destroy its intrinsic perfection. The author notes that attempts to make Hindi take the place of English have brought about movements to convert regional or State languages like Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada as vehicles for all State purposes, both in education and administration, and he perceives the danger of such movements destroying Indian cultural and political unity. He insists that such unity can be preserved only on the recognition of the two basic links, Sanskrit and English. He deals also with the possibility of the Roman Script being universally adopted, but as a realist (who is seriously optimistic about the final triumph of the Roman Script) he does not think that Indian opinion would easily reconcile itself to this development for some time to come.

In a useful Appendix, Dr. Chatterji gives specimens of the various Indian languages, their formation and their syntax. And quite a notable section of this book is the General Survey of the Various Literatures of India. The literatures in "Hindi" and its dialects during the various periods of its growth have been dealt with, with a fulness which is positively marvellous, and his appreciation of recent Hindi literature during the last one hundred years and the detailed analysis of the works of the various writers is a good example of erudition and comprehension. An

analogous process has been adopted with regard to Urdu literature ; and, in the chapter on Bengali literature, Dr. Chatterji has made a loving study of its evolution from Jayadēva (the author of the *Gīta-Gōvinda*) and Chaṇḍīdāsa and Kṛttivāsa and Chaitanya. His detailed description of modern Bengali literature and its 'growth from the times of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar through the days of Madhusudan Datta and Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore down to Vibhuti Bhushan Banerji, Tara Shankar Banerji and other writers of the present day, will amply repay perusal. The author hazards the theory that probably Jayadēva's lyrics were originally composed in Old Bengali or Apabhraṁśa, and then slightly altered to become good Sanskrit.

What, however, is astonishing is the acquaintance which he displays with literatures like Tamil and Telugu, Marathi and Gujarati. For instance, referring to Sri K. M. Munshi, he deals with his historical novels as well as his essays, his social dramas and his various articles. Similarly, in dealing with Mahatma Gandhi he refers to his varied contributions to Gujarati.

After a discussion of Panjabi and Kashmiri literatures (we have the first consistent account of this latter in Dr. Chatterji's book), Dr. Chatterji deals, with equal facility, with Telugu and Tamil and other South Indian literatures. Speaking of Telugu he notices the development of its new or reformed and simplified style, and evinces an equal acquaintance with Vemana and with Tyāgarāja's compositions. The author's erudition is illustrated by the loving mention of a recent Telugu poet, Nanduri Venkatasubba Rao, whose love-lyrics in the series *Yenki-pāṭalu*, he notices with special appreciation.

The Tamil language and its literature have specially attracted the author, and not only does he deal with the literature of *Cen-tamizh* beginning from *Tolkāppiyam*, but also, at some length, with the narrative poems and the *Pancha-Kāvya*s of Tamil. He notices that very early in the history of Tamil literature, a Sangam poet and a Jaina resuscitated, for the Tamil country, a story of the Northern King Udayana. One of his observations is very apposite. The ancient Tamilians, as a branch of the Dravida race, had their own religion, which, like the sum-total of Dravidian beliefs, was largely—almost in its entirety—accepted in post-Vedic

Brahmanism and thereby transformed and made "to suffer a sea-change" by becoming pan-Indian. Describing the Tamil Saiva and Vaishnava hymns, and specially dealing with Aṇḍāl and Kambar and Pukazhenti who popularised the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the South, Dr. Chatterji refers also to the work of the Christian missionaries who began to study and speak in Tamil and produced a literature of Christian inspiration. He also mentions Krishna Piḷḷai's adaptation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Tamil. In conclusion, the author notes that the Tamilians have a strong feeling for their language, and though a pure Tamil movement has become prominent, he wisely remarks that the two languages, Sanskrit and Tamil were all along cultivated side by side for the last 2000 years without any antipathy *inter se*. He rightly draws attention to the work of people like Vēdanāykar Piḷḷai, Sundaram Piḷḷai and Mahamahōpādhyāya Dr. Swāminātha Aiyar as well as Navalar, Lakshmaṇa Piḷḷai, and Subrahmaṇya Bhārati whom he terms the creator of modern Tamil prose. He comes down to Dēśika Vināyakam Piḷḷai and the Poet Laureate Namakkal Rāmaliṅgam Piḷḷai and P. Sambandhan Mudaliyar. He deals in detail with present-day novelists and satirists (both men and women being fully represented), and concludes with the observation that Tamil literature is as much representative of the Indian spirit as Sanskrit. The book ends with an account of Malayalam literature, and has an appendix on the earlier phases of Sindhi literature.

In an appreciation of this book, in which the author has sought to do equal justice to all the languages of Modern India, both Northern and Southern, it may rightly be claimed that this volume is an authentic and valuable contribution towards the study of the Indian unity of thought and endeavour as illustrated and exemplified by the multi-lingual synthesis afforded by India's composite literature.

Dr. Chatterji has also written a book on *Africanism* (Calcutta, 1960), and has engaged himself in a study of the Black African peoples and their culture. His pamphlet on the "Problems of Humane and Traditional Studies in an Urbanised and Technological World" furnishes the right perspective with reference to the study of the Humanities in the present scientific age. The author is prominently connected with the *Association for the Advance-*

ment of the National Languages of India ; and although he has been working earnestly for the spread of a knowledge of Hindi among Bengalis, he is opposed to the campaign of certain ardent speakers of Hindi who are eager to establish their mother-tongue as a compulsory speech in schools all over India in place of English. He fully agrees with the Prime Minister of India, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, that the final decision to establish Hindi as the only all-India Official Language in place of English should rest with the non-Hindi speaking peoples of India and not with those who speak or use Hindi as their mother-tongue. Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that all the Regional or State languages of India (including Hindi) should prosper and should have a square deal among themselves, with English as the neutral all-India language which it has been for the last 160 years, and with Sanskrit, that great "Symbol of our Seniority among the nations of the World" in the background.

In his *Introduction* to this book, the author refers to his friendship with Dr. G. Tucci of Rome and Dr. W. Norman Brown of Philadelphia and states that this work has been brought into existence with their suggestion and help. This is really a germinative book, and the reading public of our country will find it specially timely and suggestive.

Dīpāvalī Day,
27th October, 1962
New Delhi

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

INTRODUCTION

In 1950 my friend Dr. Giuseppe Tucci, Director of the *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* in Rome, wrote to me about a project which was being considered to bring out a comprehensive encyclopaedic work in Italian in four volumes on the Civilizations of the East, under the auspices of the well-known Italian publishing house of Gherardo Casini of Rome, with Dr. Tucci himself as the Editor. The work was to embrace the history, literature, art and archaeology as well as religion and philosophy of all the ancient, mediaeval and modern peoples of the East, from Egypt and Ethiopia to Japan and Indonesia, and competent scholars from Italy and in some cases from countries outside Italy were to contribute to it. I have known Dr. Tucci from 1922, when I first visited Italy and Rome at the close of my sojourn in Europe (London and Paris) as a student, and our acquaintance deepened into close friendship when Dr. Tucci came to India and stayed at Rabindranath Tagore's International University of Visva-Bharati and then at Dacca University in East Bengal, and when he visited India and Calcutta subsequently on a number of occasions; and I also met him in Europe in 1938, and after the Second World War. Dr. Tucci was one of the first scholars to appreciate my big work on the *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (1926); and when he requested me to write a suitably long article on the languages and literatures of Modern India for the second volume of this projected work, *Le Civiltà del Oriente*, I gladly agreed. But I could not start to write it immediately.

In 1951 I was called to America, being invited (through the friendly offices of Dr. W. Norman Brown) to act as a Visiting Lecturer in the School of South Asia Studies of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia for a semester, and I stayed in America for seven months, from September 1951 to March 1952, with a month in Mexico. I had just begun to prepare this paper while in Calcutta, and because of Dr. Tucci's urgent request, I had to write it out and complete it in Philadelphia. It was done rather hastily, and although the

library of the University of Philadelphia is a well-equipped one, naturally all the books I wanted to consult on the literatures of Modern Indian languages were not available there. Nevertheless, from my own notes and with the help of whatever books were available, I wrote out the first draft of a sketch of the Languages and Literatures of Mediaeval and Modern India, of course in English, and sent the MS. in several notebooks to Dr. Tucci in Rome from Philadelphia. The MS. was typed in Rome, and I received it in Calcutta after my return from America in March 1952. This I corrected, with a few additions and modifications, and sent it back to Rome, where it was translated into Italian; and as part of the Second Volume of *Le Civiltà del Oriente*, it was published in 1956. The printing and general get up of this 200-page paper of mine in the superb volume were quite sumptuous. Dr. Tucci and his colleagues illustrated my paper (as in the case of all other papers) in a most lavish manner, with a large number of beautiful reproductions of mediaeval Indian miniatures (some of them in colour) and other illustrations which formed a pictorial commentary to the subject-matter of the most important and most popular contents of the mediaeval and modern Indian literatures; and besides, Dr. Tucci added a little selection of translations from the original texts in Hindi, Bengali, Tamil and other languages, which enhanced the value of the work.

The original English of this Italian work remained unpublished. But after I was awarded one of the Rabindranath Tagore prizes from the West Bengal Government on this Italian work and its original in English, as a work in a language other than Bengali on a subject dealing with the literature and culture of Bengal and India, my friends asked me to bring out the original in English. As I was not very happy myself with the work since it was rather hastily written in America, I gave it a through revision, and made it fuller and more comprehensive by bringing in some added material. Finally the book was ready, and was sent to the press in March 1961, and the printing of the text was completed by the end of June 1962. Some mistakes and slips were also corrected; and in the case of all the languages, I made contacts with the distinguished scholars and writers in them, and through their kindness, I have been able to make clearer (at least for myself) many

matters which were but perfunctorily touched in the first draft or edition.

In the Italian version of the first draft of this work, there could be no treatment of Kashmiri literature, although Kashmiri is one of the 14 National Languages of India according to the *Constitution* of India. It has been included here for the first time. The present article on Kashmiri literature I have based partly on a paper I read before the Local Languages Section at the All India Conference of Orientalists held at Srinagar in September 1961, and this paper was concerned to some extent with the earlier phases of Kashmiri both language and literature and the question of division of Kashmiri into various periods. In the present work, as in the case of other Modern languages of India, I have tried to formulate a chronological scheme in the development of Kashmiri.

There is no lack of good books on the history of the literatures of Modern India in both English and the various languages themselves, and there are also volumes (in English, Bengali and Hindi, for instance) giving general or omnibus surveys of the Modern Indian Literatures. In the *Bibliography* I have given a general indication of a good part of the available material in English. The present work, however, has this special character—it seeks to give the view-point of a single person who has made a survey of most of all these literatures, and has sought to appraise them, not only in themselves basically, but also with an inevitable consideration of the common under-current which flows below all literary endeavour within the orbit of Mediaeval and Modern Indian Culture. Though not professedly a comparative study, the author could not avoid bringing in considerations of basic influences among the Modern Indian Literatures as occasion demanded and clarification required it.

There is a fundamental unity in the literary types, genres and expressions among all the mediaeval and modern languages of India, as there has been (as noted in the section on Indian Languages, pp. 12, 13) a gradual convergence of Indian languages belonging to the different linguistic families, Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan and Austric, towards a *Common Indian Type* after their intimate contact with each other for 3000 years. I have discussed the *Three Main Matters* in the earlier *Narrative*

Poetry of almost all the Indian languages—viz. (i) the Matter of Ancient India or of the Sanskrit World; (ii) the Matter of Mediaeval India or of the area where the particular Modern Indian language developed; and (iii) the Matter of Islam or the Perso-Arabic World. (See *infra*, pp. 96 ff.) It will be seen that while (ii) has its special character and gives individuality to the content of the literature in any Medieval and Modern Indian language, and while (iii) is comparatively late and has a restricted scope, being confined to the Muslim section of the people only, and with a very restricted extent in most of the Indian languages (excepting in the case of Urdu, Sindhi and Kashmiri), it is (i)—the Matter of Ancient India—that forms the bed-rock of the Mediaeval and Modern literatures in all the Modern languages of India. Even a brief perusal of the histories of Hindi (Hindustani), Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Gujarati, Panjabi, Kashmiri, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu literatures, as well as the literatures of other languages which have not been as yet recognized in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution (viz. Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Nepali, Sindhi, Rajasthani), will show that, looming behind all these literatures, not only as their background but also as their perpetual inspirer and feeder, there are the towering mountains of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* (especially the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*) and the Philosophy of the Vedānta as in the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the Ideologies and the Ritualism of the *Yōga* and *Bhakti* and of the *Dharma-śāstras*, and the poetry of the classic writers of Sanskrit like Kālidāsa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Bhavabhūti. There are of course the special gifts of Jaina and Buddhistic literatures, but the influence of the Brahmanical literature of ancient India remains supreme. The streams of Jaina and Buddhistic literature easily and naturally merged into the wider 'Hindu' i.e. Brahmanical *cum* Jaina and Buddhistic atmosphere, bringing some of their own elements to extend and diversify as well as unify the whole.

Indian life and thought and Indian literature in ancient, mediaeval and modern times (until very recently) have remained imbedded in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the Vedānta and the *Yōga* and *Bhakti*. Without a knowledge and appreciation of these, no knowledge and appreciation of Indian literature, even for the modern age, is possible.

There is something in the fascination which the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas* have exercised on the Indian mind for some 2000 years and more, and the grip these great works have on all Indian literatures. *These works are India* : and in all the languages of India and their literatures, it is the content and the spirit both of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, with the Upanishads in the background, that have found and are still finding their full play and their natural abode.

With regard to the importance of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the Indian scene, this is what the great Indian scholar and statesman, Romesh Dutt, wrote over 60 years ago in 1899 :—

“ ‘The poems of Homer’, says Mr. Gladstone, ‘differ from all other known poetry in this that they constitute in themselves an encyclopædia of life and knowledge ; at a time when knowledge, indeed, such as lies beyond the bounds of actual experience, was extremely limited, and when life was singularly fresh, vivid and expansive’. This remark applies with even greater force to the *Mahābhārata* : it is an encyclopædia of the life and knowledge of ancient India, and it discloses to us an ancient and forgotten world, a broad and a noble civilisation which has passed away.The people of modern India know how to appreciate their ancient heritage. It is not an exaggeration to state that 200 millions of Hindus of the present age cherish in their hearts the story of their ancient Epics. The Hindu scarcely lives, man or woman, high or low, educated or ignorant, whose earliest recollections did not cling round the story and the characters of the great Epics.No work in Europe, not Homer in Greece, not Virgil in Italy, not Shakespeare or Milton in English-speaking lands, is the *national* property of the nations to the same extent as the Epics of India are of the Hindus. No single work except the Bible has such influence in affording moral instruction in Christian lands as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in India.”

We may also recall what Rabindranath Tagore said in this connection : “The science, the current of thought and the tradition of the past which were scattered far and wide within the land, and which even seemed to have almost merged into its horizon ;—there was at one time the awakening of a great urge in

the mind of the people to gather together all that, and to integrate it. Unless one can bring clearly within one's ken the wealth of the *floraison* of its own mind that is spread over the ages, it will through neglect and through ignorance become dilapidated and extinct. At some stage the country became alert through this apprehension: the country desired earnestly to salvage its unstrung gems, to collect them, to make them into one whole by binding them in a single thread, and to dedicate them for the service of all men and all times. The country became anxious to stabilize in society in a visible form its own vast Thought Personality. This was indeed a wonderful labour, to bring within the control of all and sundry in a comprehensive way all that was tied down within the control of specializing scholars. Within this, there was a strong endeavour, a tireless application, and an all-embracing vision. That a powerful genius had set up as its aim the glory of this endeavour is clearly proved in the name *Mahābhārata* itself. The name *Mahābhārata* was created by those who had seen the grand and luminous form of *India the Great* in their spiritual meditation: and that form was a terrestrial, and an imaginative or mental one, at the same time. In their own minds they viewed the Mind of India. Through the impetuous joy of that all-inclusive vision, they founded in India a spacious area for training for all time. And that training spread over multitudinous subjects—in religion and ritual, in politics, in a knowledge of the Ultimate Reality. And after that, India has received blow after blow from the hand of her cruel history, the knotted chords of her minor self have time after time become severed, she became decrepit through poverty and insult; but that glorious achievement of an age which has been forgotten by History for all this length of time kept the free-moving channel of irrigation full in many streams and running. Its influence is still present from village to village and from house to house. If this current of training were not for ever flowing from that basic source, then the country would have abandoned all its humanness in the black-hole of suffering and poverty and insult."

I feel also impelled in the present context to quote the impassioned tribute to the *Mahābhārata* which the late Dr,

Vishnu Sukthankar, who inaugurated the new critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* from Poona, wrote : "There is a danger that in an pseudo-scientific mood we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be a capital blunder ! That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Hermann Oldenberg said that 'in the *Mahābhārata* breathes the United Soul of India, and the individual souls of her people.' And why is that ? Because the *Mahābhārata* is the National Saga of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious ; and just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it* : I mean the real WE ! Shall we be guilty of strangling our soul ? NEVER !"

The greatness of the two Epics and the *Purāṇas* in moulding the life and literature of India thus cannot be too highly estimated. In fact, competent opinion, both in India and abroad, has looked upon the two Epics, and particularly the *Mahābhārata*, as the greatest literary heritage of India. The *Mahābhārata* particularly is unquestionably the Greatest Book of India, and some, including the present writer, would even rate it as the Greatest Book of the World. A scholar like Arthur William Ryder of the University of California, who made some fine translations from the Sanskrit, gave his opinion that "if he were to confine for life to a single book he would certainly choose the *Mahābhārata*". The cultural unity of India, ancient, mediaeval and modern, has been primarily nurtured through the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*. It is therefore necessary to appreciate this great heritage from Sanskrit literature in the life and literature of India, for at least two millennia, if not more.

As in other domains of life and thought, in art and music and drama, in literature also the Fundamental Unity of India clearly shines forth : and it may be said that if one passes from one Modern Indian literature into another, there will be no sense of entering into a different climate. And

this will be still more true if one passes from Sanskrit literature into that of any modern Indian language, even including Tamil (except, of course, to some extent that of Urdu, particularly of the 18th-19th centuries—and even in Urdu there is no lack of “the Matter of the Sanskrit World”).

It may be asked to what extent “the Matter of Islam” has been an integrating force in Indian Literature. Islam came to India in two forms. It was, in the first instance, a militant faith which would not tolerate other ideologies, and those who brought it sought to establish it over all other forms of religion current in the land. This was one kind of Islam which was not tolerant, and would not go in for any understanding or compromise. This was the kind of Islam which was brought by the Turki conquerors of North India, and this failed to win over the Hindus, but rather stiffened them up in their resistance. Then there was the other form of Islam, Sufistic Islam, which was much more humanized and universalized and had many points in common with the Vedanta and higher Hinduism. The Way of the Sufi (*Ṣūfiyāna ṭarīqa*) was more successful in bringing to the Hindus a closer understanding of Islam, and *vice versa*, than the Way of the Turk (*Turkāna ṭarīqa*). This recognized that Truth does not belong to any particular faith or prophet exclusively, but that God has spoken to man all over the world, and the cultivation of sincerity and faith was more important than the narrow path of the segregated doctrine and dogma. Through Sufism we find a considerable amount of spiritual understanding between Hindus and Muslims all over the country ; and the intellectual *élite* of both the communities could gather together on a common platform. A whole host of known and unknown Sufi teachers and laymen, with rulers like Zainul Abedin of Kashmir and Akbar the Great and Prince Dara Shikoh at their head were of this type. The masses, unless they were moved by those who wanted to follow the narrow and orthodox path of purely Arabic Islam, unmodified by the later developments in Sufism, did not bother about religious divergencies. In their daily life Hindus and Muslims generally lived in peace and harmony and even amity,—and a great many Indian Muslims were till recently but imperfectly converted

into the new religion and they did not find a spirit of dissatisfaction or disharmony with the Hindu background they had inherited. Hindus on the other hand were quick enough to accept many of the Muslim social and religious usages and customs and forms of etiquette ; as, for example, in North India and in considerable part of the Deccan, Hindus would participate in Muslim festivals like the Muharram and Muslims would also join in Hindu festivals like the Durga Puja, the Ram Lila, the Diwali and the Holi. The upper classes, when they had an atmosphere of culture about their minds, took most easily to the Sufi form of Islam ; and the lower classes had a spirit of harmonizing with the atmospheres of the two religions in their daily lives. It was the policy of *divide et impera*, which the British followed in their own interests throughout the greater part of their rule in India, that the incipient diversity of approach in the religious atmosphere of the two cults was strengthened into something which was considered to be almost the very essence of Islam, and the spirit of integration which was so normal and natural and was cultivated so assiduously through Sufism, has now come to be jeopardized. So much so that this dividing or segregating tendency got the upper hand, and it has been responsible for the vivisection of India into India and Pakistan. But in literature, although the divergences in religious practices of the Hindu and the Muslim, when each tried to be specially orthodox in his own way, have been noticed, there has been the spirit of *laissez faire* and a broad spirit of tolerance and compromise and integration which have never been absent in Indian Literature.

The real Integration of India into one Single Entity, inspite of some basic and fundamental racial, linguistic and cultural diversities, has taken place through the world of the Epics and the *Purāṇas* and the philosophical literature of Sanskrit, (especially Vedanta as supplemented by Islamic *Taṣawwuf*) in the ancient and mediaeval times ; and on this Integration stand the Cultural Oneness and the Political Unity of India. This has been strengthened during the last one hundred years by the impact of the mind of Europe on the Indian mind through the literature of English ; and the inestimable service of this last in modernizing the mind of India and making it once again conscious of its great heritage of the past and of its stupendous unity cannot be too highly rated. English has been one of the greatest gifts of the Modern Age to

India; and inspite of the segregating mentality that is now becoming a corollary of a narrow chauvinistic patriotism which wants to drive out English, the general good sense of the masses as much as of the classes has tacitly and without antagonism accepted English thankfully. The results of this we find in Modern Indian literature.

I have not been a specialist student of literature, but I have enjoyed the great books of most of the literatures of our Modern Indian languages, in some cases in the original, in most other cases through translations, but mostly keeping the original by my side. My first approach in many cases was linguistic. When I started to read the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* and the *Bihārī Satasāi*, and *Kānhaḍaḍe Prabandha* and selections from the *Guru Grantha*, it was at first to study the grammar. But very soon the great qualities of these works got the better of their linguistic importance, and I could derive real intellectual and spiritual pleasure from their perusal as creative literature. The Marathi *Pōwāḍās* I read for their striking qualities as ballad literature, and of course the appeal of the Old Tamil Sangam Literature and the Hymns of the Tamil Sivite and Vishnuite saints was first and foremost for their literary—esthetic and spiritual—value. So too the verses of Vemana in Middle Telugu, the poetry of Nazir and Ghālib in Urdu, and the *Yeṅki-pāṭalu* of Modern Telugu. The English translations have of course been a great blessing, particularly for the South Indian languages. I may flatter myself that a good many of the most beautiful and enduring things in all the Modern Indian literatures, whether in the original or in English translation, are very close to my heart; and I do not know how much I would have missed in my life, if I did not have my *Māṇikya-vāchakar* and my Kabir, my *Pattuppāṭṭu* and other Sangam literature, as much as my *Kālidāsa* and my Rabīndranāth, as great helps and solaces in life.

Comparisons are odious, but it will be useful and instructive to compare dispassionately the literature of India as a whole with that of Europe. So far as the earlier phases of human life and thought are concerned, the ancient and the early mediaeval, it can just be said that the great achievements of Humanity in thought and action, in endeavour and in attainment, in the domains of the intellect and the emotions, in

science and mysticism, are to be found in the literatures of Sanskrit, and of Greek, of Latin, of Early Arabic and of Early Chinese ; and to this also we shall have to add the Older Literature of Hebrew. Modern literatures of the East and West have mainly inherited and carried on the traditions of these. Modern European literatures have amplified what they received from the Greek and the Roman worlds, and from the Hebrew Old Testament. The all-inclusive human qualities of Classical Greek and Latin literatures have given an added strength to European literatures from after the Renaissance, particularly when the European Man, in an urge to know and to conquer and possess, spread all over the other continents—Africa, Asia and the two Americas ; and then European literature as a whole acquired new horizons and wider contents, which naturally were beyond the ken of mediaeval and early Modern Indian literature in its isolation, touching just the fringe of the outside world through a contact with only Persian and Arabic literatures. But within its own area, its variety was quite noteworthy ; and after the new Renaissance which came in India with the study of the mind and the achievements of Europe through English literature from the middle of the 19th century, Indian literatures are losing no time in modernizing themselves, and falling in line as far possible with the advanced literatures of Modern Europe. *The Matter of Europe* has now come as a counterpoise to *the Matter of Ancient India* (and *the Matter of Islam*); and how the action and reaction are taking place we can already see from the enrichment of Indian literature in the hands of Rabindrnath Tagore and others.

In printing the present work, I have sought to be consistent in my transliteration, particularly when names and words are given as *Indian* names and words in *italics* (and in **thick fount**). In the body of the book, when a name features as a part of the English sentence, I have normally used English values of [ch, chh, n, sh] etc. for the more rigid [c, ch, ñ or ñ, ş] of the transliteration in *italics*. But owing to my own hesitance and lack of care, and the inadvertence of the press, consistency could not be always maintained, particularly in the earlier parts of this book. This will I hope be treated with indulgence, as it will not vitally affect the reading of the work.

I am thankful to the Proprietors of the K. M. Press for their sympathetic and helpful attitude all through, in sparing no trouble and expense in preparing a number of types with diacritical marks which are not available in the market, and this has enhanced the scientific value of the work by making correct and full transliteration of Indian names and words easy.

I have to express my grateful thanks to numerous friends from all the parts of India who responded to my queries and helped me in my work. But I could not give full references all through, as I take for granted a general basic knowledge of the cultural and literary background of India.

In seeing the book through the press, I have been substantially helped by Sri Anil Kumar Kanjilal, M. A. whose knowledge of the subject and whose common sense and good taste aided me materially in seeing through the proofs. The press people from the Proprietors to the Compositors were all obliging and helpful, for which I feel very grateful to them.

Finally I have to thank the Central Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi, for a generous subvention in printing this book. This has enabled the Publishers to issue the book to the public at its present price.

Sri Guru Nanak Day
(Karttikī Rāsa Pūrṇimā)
November 11, 1962
Calcutta-29

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

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THE PLATES

SOME TYPOGRAPHICAL & OTHER CORRECTIONS

- P. 16, last line but one : correct to "and Kōliya (or Kōlliya...)"
- P. 32, line 4 : Add "(5)" before "Bengali 67".
line 21 : correct to "Mēwātī".
- P. 38, line 20 : correct to "Chatterji"
- P. 71, line 10 : correct to "pātér".
- P. 77, last line but three, correct to "Mēwātī".
- P. 80, line 29 : correct to "('was')" in ordinary type, in place of the thick fount.
line 33 : correct to "('share'—ullabha-pana)".
line 37 : correct "phāl" to thick fount.
- P. 86, line 3 : read "bara-taka".
- P. 87, line 11 : correct IV to V.
- P. 100, line 35 : read "the handsome Kaunro who loved the king)".
- P. 102, line 16 : read "clichés".
- P. 111, line 9 : read "Kannada".
- P. 122, last line : correct to "A. P. Barannikov".
- P. 126, line 21 : read "Padumāwati".
- P. 129, line 27 : correct to "Hundred".
- P. 137, line 8 : correct to "from Kangra in Himachal Pradesh" in place of "from Garhwal".
- P. 138, line 22 : read "Khatri" : the last word in the page, *Divya* (for *Diya*).
- P. 139, line 6, 7 : read as "monthly the *Viśāl Bhārat*, which was started from Calcutta by Ramananda Chatterji, from the third decade of this century".
- P. 139, line 29 : add, after "born 1897"—"died October 15, 1961".
- P. 140, line 37 : read "Jānakī-vallabh Śāstrī, 'Suman' (Śiva-Maṅgal Singh)".
- P. 143. last 3 lines : read : "Qutub Muštari (Or "the Pole-Star and the Planet Jupiter" : c. 1609), treating, in the guise of an elaborate love-romance, of the love of the Golkonda prince for Bhāgamatī....."
- P. 149, lines 15-20 : Correct as follows :
"In 1724, Muhammad Amin Saadat Khan, a nobleman from Delhi, came to Faizābād (Ajodhyā) as Governor of Oudh. He started an independent line of Kings (the Kings of Oudh) which ruled till 1856. The city of Lucknow (Lakhnaū) became from the time of Nawab Asafuddulah (1775-1798), the third ruler, a rival city of Delhi for the patronage of Indo-Muslim culture and of Urdu literature, although the language of the area where Lucknow is situated is Awadhi."

P. 151, lines 27-29 : Correct as follows :

“Paṇḍit Ratan-nāth Dar ‘Sarshār’ (1846-1902), the author of *Fisāna-e-Āzād*, a very extensive work in four parts, of over 2500 pages, which depicts with astonishing verisimilitude the social life of Lucknow. A slightly abridged edition of this great work in the Nagari character has been brought out by Prem Chand. Mīrzā Ruswā (Muhammad Hādī), 1858-1931, wrote, after Sarshār, a realistic study of the life of a Lucknow *bayadère* called *Umrāo Jān Adā*. (This has been translated into English under the auspices of the UNESCO by Kushwant Singh and M. A. Husain, Calcutta 1961)”.

P. 189, line 22 : correct to “poems”.

P. 194 : after line 10 : add, as Heading : (1) Early Assamese Literature, to 1800 A. D.

P. 198 : after line 33 : add, as Heading : (2) Modern and Recent Assamese Literature, after 1800 A. D.

P. 209, after line 16 : add, as Heading : (4) Oriya Literature, after 1850.

P. 212, line 29 : correct to “ p. 188”.

P. 237, line 17 : correct to “*Pṛthvī-candra-caritra*.”

P. 268, line 28 : read “Muslims”.

P. 284, line 11 : add, at the end of the paragraph :

“(See in this connexion *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*, giving the Telugu Text in Nagari characters with English translation of 565 songs of Tyāgarāja, by C. Ramanujachari, an Introductory Thesis by Dr. V. Raghavan, and a Foreword by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan : published by the Ramakrishna Mission Students’ Home, Mylapore, Madras, 1957.)”

P. 305, line 2 : Correct “Mysore” to “Bangalore”.

(I have to make special mention here that through the kindness of my friend Professor T. N. Srikanthayya a number of mistakes and inadvertent statements in the chapter on Kannada Literature could be corrected at the last moment.)

Page 306, l. 13 : correct to *Caṅkams*.

Page 307, l. 7 : read “inscriptions” ; l. 33 : read “pronunciation.”

Page 311, l. 31 : read “Nakkīrar.”

P. 328, line 31 : correct to “Guhapriyā”.

P. 343, in foot-note, line 9 : correct to “zā = z” ; line 14, read “Perso-Arabic” ; and in last line but one, read “Shāh Jahān”.

[A]

THE LANGUAGES

[A]

THE LANGUAGES

(1) India and Pakistan a Single Unit

India, geographically, economically, ethnographically, historically and culturally, has, since time immemorial, formed a single unit. The division of the country on the 15th of August 1947 into two separate and independent states of India Proper (*Bhārata*) and Pakistan is just a calculated political measure behind which are both religious separatism and the *haute politique* of extra-Indian inspiration. It was like the division of many an other country like Ireland, Germany, Korea and Viet-nam, and the Netherlands (the last into a Protestant Holland proper, and a Catholic Flanders as a part of the Union of Belgium). Apart from a thousand links which bind Western Pakistan with the contiguous tracts of India, viz. East Panjab and Rajasthan, and Eastern Pakistan (East Bengal) with West Bengal, one salient fact is that the official languages of Pakistan are Urdu and Bengali. Urdu is but the Muslim style of the great Hindi speech of North India which belongs specially to the provinces of *Uttara Pradesh* (U. P., or United Provinces) and East Panjab, and is not the home language of the people of any part of Pakistan; while Bengali is spoken in both East Bengal and West Bengal. The Partition is so recent that barring the fact of a large scale exodus of the Hindus from Pakistan into India, and of some Muslims from India to Pakistan (many of whom have come back), and the fact that there is some talk of "Islamic ideals" in Pakistan, there is no other appreciable change in the cultural milieu of the people of these two "countries" or "nations". Statistical figures for a separate India and Pakistan are not always available or reliable: the two countries have not yet finally settled down to a normal life, and no one knows what is going to happen in the immediate future. For this reason the last figures in Census (and other matters) belonging to 1941 and 1931, referring to the whole of India, India-cum-Pakistan as a single unit, are generally admissible. The languages and literatures are there,

although in Pakistan there is some anxiety to foster a purely *Islamic* literature and culture ; and consequently, for the purposes of this book, at least partially, it will be the only practical way to take the two countries together as India single and undivided of January 1947, which still lives in the consciousness of the World.

(2) Multiplicity of Language :

How far it is a Problem in India

Among non-Indians generally who are genuinely interested in things Indian (and among some Indians as well, for the matter of that), one great fact looms large in the horizon of their minds when the question of languages in India is broached, and that is their large number, which forms on the face of it an almost insuperable bar in the achievement of India's solidarity as a nation, and is a drag on her all-round progress. Before taking up a survey of the actual situation with regard to the languages of India, some preliminary observations on this question of multiplicity of languages in India may be made, with a view to see what the real facts are and to what extent that is a problem in our country.

India, with an area as large as Europe without Russia and a vast population of over 430 millions forming a fifth of the human race, a country where so many different peoples from time immemorial have found a home, is, naturally enough, a land of many languages. But we have never felt that this was a problem or a burden in our national life, until very recently. The reason was that we had built up since the beginning of our history something which made us unmindful of the plurality of our languages, viz. our Common or Pan-Indian Civilization and Way of Life, based on our being a self-contained geographical unit *vis-à-vis* the rest of Asia. Our national history started with a unique mingling of peoples and ideals that linked up the various parts of this sub-continent and helped to involve a Common Indian Type of Humanity, mentally and spiritually, if not entirely physically. A common language as the basis for racial solidarity, or for "nationalism" or nationhood, is not a new idea, and notions of racial and cultural superiority were frequently connected with language in all lands and ages. But unity of language as an essential element of nationhood came to be admitted in the political thought of the West from the days of the Renaissance and the

Reformation, when the old ideal of an internationalism through the Holy Roman Empire was found impossible to maintain. But the new ideal of "one language, one religion, one people" (or, of "one language, one people", when formal religion was relegated to a secondary place by the more advanced peoples) had in practice to be considerably modified, since there were polyglot states with certain kinds of discrimination against minorities not speaking the language of the dominating people, or at least with a preferential position for those who spoke the language of the majority. But the ideal, convincing at first sight, and alluring in its simplicity, nevertheless persists, and has become a disturbing factor in our Indian politics also.

The process at work in presenting the Polyglottism of India as a problem is manifold. In the first place, there has been an idealistic desire for the emancipation of our politics (which, so long as the British were ruling India, meant our fight for freedom, and with the British out of the country it means now economic well-being with the functioning of a true democracy) from the coteries of the *intelligentsia* representing largely the learned professions, and also for freeing the people from exploitation by the merchants and industrialists (as well as the big land-lords, who have largely been liquidated), with an attempt to associate our masses, representing agriculture and industry, with political power and control as much possible. This has brought in the necessity of addressing the masses and guiding them, and seeking their support through a language they can understand. This means that at least a dozen of the main languages of the country will have to be recognized as "first languages" of the country. Formerly, English was the first language, and Indian languages were speeches of socondary importance, mere "vernaculars". Prior to English, it was Persian in Muslim times, and Sanskrit in pre-Mulsim and non-Muslim India. This acceptance of diversity of language would appear to form a visible discord in the Unity of India, which we all feel to be a thing very much *in esse*, and which we are all anxious to maintain and advance. Languages which served to unite India into a single cultural or political unit, like Sanskrit in Hindu India, Persian in Muslim India, and English among the present-day *intelligentsia*, cannot be employed among the masses, at least very intimately, as the masses are still very largely unlettered even in their mother-tongues. Then, there is the growing spirit of Provincialism, or *Linguism*, its latest ugly and disconcerting

manifestation, which is but an exclusive and separatist linguistic nationalism in its incipient stage ; and this seems to be gathering strength everywhere. This has led to the division of India into a number of autonomous "language-states", more or less closely bound together into a Confederacy of the Union of India : and this seems to be the ideal before many of us, which appears to be on the way to full realization. This old "Provincialism" has now taken the form of *Linguism* during the last few years (from 1955 onwards) in most of the states, giving to the language of the state (whether it is Hindi or Assamese, Tamil or Panjabi) a paramount and even an intolerantly exclusive place over all other languages. The importance of the mother-tongue in education is being more and more recognized, and this "education through the mother-tongue" is proving to be something of a problem in an area where more than one literary language are in use. Moreover, people are becoming more and more conscious of their languages and are feeling a pride in them : they are for the first time "finding themselves", so to say, through their language, and they are prizing the fact that they with their language now do count in the state—with the language which they speak at home or understand without difficulty.

In the face of all this, Indian Unity must be maintained, and most people thought that we must find a language which was to be not merely the natural symbol of national unity but also an active promoter of this national unity, undoing the mischief that the fissiparous tendencies of "Provincialism" might do to it. Such a language has been proposed in Hindi. After a number of years of bitter controversy, which has not yet subsided, but which is now taking a new turn, the Indian Constituent Assembly in the year 1950 declared, in the Constitution it framed, that the Hindi language written in the Nagari alphabet was to be the "Official Language" of the Union of India. The Nagari alphabet has during the last 100 years been generally adopted as the pan-Indian script for Sanskrit, the classical language of India and the veritable *Deva-Bhāṣā* or Language of the Gods, and this added a greater prestige to the Nagari script, as the *Deva-nāgarī*, by adding the the word *dēva* "God, Divine" to it. Incidentally it was mentioned in the Constitution that the English language, as the legacy of 200 years of a centralized British administration, was to be retained for 15 years more, with progressive substitution of English by Hindi and with a fresh deliberation after 15 years as to how far English could be restricted

in or removed from our public life and administration. From its position as a subsidiary official language, which has been accorded to Hindi, the problem now is, with some ardent Indian nationalists who are advocates of Hindi (particularly among those who speak Hindi or use it as their language of education and public life), how to make it replace English and become the only pan-Indian language for all purposes for the whole of India. Many public men of India are very much exercised over this "problem", and it is now looming in front of us as a problem of all-India significance. Our sentiments for an Indian language as the State Language, *Rāshṭra-bhāshā*, are there ; only the problem is, how to reconcile, in non-Hindi areas (i.e. in those parts of the country where Hindi is not the accepted language of education and culture, and where other great literary languages prevail), the rival claims of the local or "regional" language and of Hindi as the proposed all-India State Language or Official Language. It was widely (though not universally) agreed that we cannot make English the Official Language of a Free India : that would hurt our national susceptibilities, making us look small before other peoples with National Languages of their own. Even a good percentage of those Indians who have been intellectually nurtured in English and who have imbibed the modern spirit through English, and who consequently have a great love for English, recognizing it to be the unique vehicle of World Culture at the present day, would hesitate to declare for this reason English to be the sole national or official language of India.

Then there have always been unfriendly critics of Indian national aspirations in the past (such critics still go strong, and generally they have political axes of their own to grind) who have trotted out, and are doing so still, the argument that India cannot be a single nation with the multitude of her languages. This argument must be met, and that in the positive way, by setting up one Indian speech which can claim the spontaneous homage of all (or of the largest number of) Indians.

Thus the question of language is becoming one of the problems of India. But, as we shall see later, it is not a problem of the first rank, on the immediate solution of which the progress of the country largely depends.

(3) Factors mitigating the Problem

The question may be categorically put now : Is there, then, a real Language-problem in India ? If so, how, and to what extent ? And how can it be solved ?

In discussing the above questions, one or two points may conveniently be disposed of first.

So long as there is the will to live together in a common state, multiplicity of language is no bar to nationhood. In such a state, according to convenience, one, or more than one language can be used in public or corporate life. The example of Switzerland with its German, French and Italian (and recently added Rhætoroman) speeches, is a conspicuous one. But in Great Britain itself we have at least three distinct languages, barring dialects : English, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic, yet no one raises the question of language here, and encouragement is given to preserve Welsh and Gaelic, and, if possible, also to develop them. Spain has three, or possibly four : Spanish (Castilian), Catalan, and Galician, and Basque. These languages are no longer suppressed, and there is often state support for their cultivation and study, though as secondary languages. Among other polyglot nations are Mexico (with its scores of American Indian languages with Aztec and Maya at their head, but all dominated by Spanish), most of the countries of Central and South America (where conditions similar to Mexico prevail), the Union of the Soviet States under the lead of Russia (which do not lack solidarity because of diversity in language belonging to various families—Indo-European in its Slav, Baltic, Iranian and Armenian groups, Finno-Ugrian and Altaic, as well as Caucasian—all living and thriving under the aegis of the Great Russian speech which the citizens of all the Soviet States must learn in their own interest) and China (the Chinese 'dialects' are really distinct modern languages derived from Ancient Chinese of 2000 or 1500 years ago, held together by the Unity of Script and the Literary Style of the Classical Language, and at the present day dominated by the Northern Chinese speech, known variously as the *Kuan-hua*, the *Pai-hua* and the *Kuo-yü* or *Gwo-yeu*, which alone is officially recognized : there are besides, Tibetan, Mongol and Manchu, and the submerged Tai and Miao-tsze speeches in the South). Numerous other countries that are political units recognize more than one official language : Belgium (French,

Flemish), Eire (Irish, English), Czechoslovakia (Czech, Slovak and German), the Union of South Africa (English and Afrikaans or Cape Dutch ; and there is a whole host of submerged African speeches, of the Bantu, the Bushman and the Hottentot families), Canada (English and French, besides the Red Indian speeches, and Eskimo), Afghanistan (Persian and Pashto), Pakistan (Urdu, Bengali and English), and Ceylon (English, Sinhalese and Tamil). We can also cite the case of Indonesia, where a number of related speeches belonging to one single family have agreed to accept one form of it, the Malay language written in the Roman script, as the Official Language for a population of over 72 millions.

A single language is thus not an absolute condition to form a single nation or state.

Then, again, the number of languages is very much exaggerated when the linguistic argument is brought against India's claim to be a nation. "179 languages and 544 dialects" : the mere mention of these figures would damp the enthusiasm of any Nationalist or Pan-Indianist. But we have to take these figures with a certain amount of reservation. As the "dialects" come under their respective "languages", their separate enumeration is irrelevant. Of the 179 "languages" so-called, 116 are small tribal speeches belonging to the Sino-Tibetan speech-family which are found in the north-central and north-eastern fringe of India, and these are generally without any numerical, political, commercial or cultural importance ; and some two dozen more are either similar insignificant tribal dialects belonging to the other language groups (Dravidian and Austric), or are really languages not properly belonging to India.

We should always bear in mind that in a vast country like India, with wide plains making communication easy, it is the languages used by the large civilized groups that matter. A little hill-tribe may have its own special language, in the Himalayan tracts or in the Assam or Central Indian jungle areas, a language perhaps current among only a few thousands, or even a few hundreds, living in some inaccessible villages, and confined to its narrow tribal existence. For a wider life, acquaintance with a great cultural language current near about the home of the tribe is a necessity which has to be admitted in practice. The situation is comparable to that of the Welsh-speaking or Gaelic-speaking British people or Breton-speaking Frenchmen, who must know English or French. In this way, the acquirement of Hindi or a

Marathi by the Korkus, of a Bihari dialect or Bengali or Oriya by the Santals, of Bengali or Assamese by the Bodos, or of Hindi, Marathi, Oriya or Telugu by the Gonds, is the rule, and is not looked upon as a hardship, as it is one of the basic experiences in their corporate extra-tribal life.

Apart from these small tribal or aboriginal languages, there are some languages of the great Dravidian and Aryan families which have no place outside the home life, their speakers (sometimes numbering even millions) having accepted for education, for public life and for literature one or the other of the great tongues which are allied to their own : much as speakers of Platt-deutsch have adopted German, or those of Provençal, French. So, in this way, the tale of languages that really have an important place in the cultural and political life of the community in India is reduced considerably : we can say that we have now some 15 *Literary Languages only for the whole of India*. These are Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Panjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu ; besides two more, English and Sanskrit, which have a special place. And as a matter of fact the Constitution of India has so far recognized only 14 of these Indian Languages as being the *National Languages* of India (the expression *National Language* has come into use only recently for all these ; and the old expression *Regional Language* for any of these, beside Hindi, the *Official Language*, is no longer encouraged). These 14 are : Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu, and finally Sanskrit. Nepali is not recognized as yet as it belongs to Nepal, and Sindhi is confined to seven hundred thousand Hindu refugees from Sindh and so has not yet been given full recognition.

And that does not appear so hopelessly bad, if we recall the area and the population of the country. And even this number of 14 is not much of a hardship, when we consider the very close affinity among some of these 14 major or literary languages of Modern India. Four of these belong to the Dravidian family of the South (Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam—the last two are to some extent mutually intelligible), and the rest to the Aryan or Indo-European family (Hindi or Hindustani, which has two literary forms with totally different scripts, viz. High Hindi and Urdu ; Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, and Kashmiri ; besides Panjabi, which agrees closely with High

Hindi ; and Assamese, which is very much like Bengali, using the same script with it ; and Bengali and Oriya also are very much alike, and are largely mutually intellegible, only the scripts show different styles).

We ought to give special stress upon the great fact that *Hindi* (or *Hindustani*) acts as the most natural inter-provincial link among the speakers of the different Aryan languages. Thanks to this great speech, Indians in the whole of Northern India, and over a considerable part of the Deccan and Southern India as well, do not much feel the barrier of language, at least in elementary conversation, e.g. in travelling, from the Burma border to the Afghan frontier and from Kashmir and Nepal to Sholapur, Goa and Ganjam. A little knowledge of it, even in a broken form, which is generally acquired without much effort even by those who do not speak it at home, is quite enough. This great "palaver speech" is also understood by a good number of people in the bigger towns and pilgrimage-centres of the Dravidian South as well.

Then there is *Sanskrit*, which still forms a great inter-provincial link, particularly in Hindu India ; and finally, we have *English*, one of the greatest forces which helped to bring about the modern cultural and political integration and unification of India as a whole.

These things have to be kept in mind, and these considerably take away the edge of the argument that "too many languages" forms an almost insuperable barrier in the evolution or functioning of a Single Indian Nation.

(4) Race and Language in India : an Historical Survey

As yet it has not been established that any kind of man originated on the soil of India, and it is generally assumed that all the human habitants in India came in the first instance from outside. According to the most recent view of anthropologists, some six distinct races in their various ramifications came to India in pre-historic times, and contributed to the formation of the Indian people, some of these racial elements being dominant in particular areas. The languages of India are descended from the speeches brought by these races at different times.

The oldest people of India were a *Negrito* or *Negroid* race from Africa, which has virtully died out with its language, leaving very little trace. Groups of these *Negritos*, who were found in Balochistan and Sindh, and Western and Southern India, and

who penetrated even into Assam, are believed to have passed beyond India into lands further to the east, in Malaya and in distant New Guinea. One group crossed into the Andaman Islands through South Burma, and there it still survives with its language. Andamanese is confined to a few hundreds only in these islands, but the language has not been properly described and analysed and studied comparatively as yet. Later Indian peoples do not know or remember anything about these Negritos, although in South India some Negrito tribes still survive, where they have picked up the language of their Dravidian neighbours ; and in the North-East Assam Hills, among the Nagas, anthropologists have found traces of Negrito admixture.

The next people who came are known as the **Proto-Australoids**, dark or black, slender, flat-nosed, long-headed, who largely survive now among the lower orders of society throughout the greater part of India. These Proto-Australoids are believed to have come in very ancient times from Western Asia, probably Palestine, and were an old off-shoot of the Mediterranean race. In India, they possibly mingled with the earlier Negroids, and developed their culture and became transformed to the **Austrie** or **Austro-Asiatic** people, who are now represented in a more or less pure form by the **Kol** or **Munda**-speaking *Ādivāsis* or primitive peoples of Central and Eastern Indian hills and forests. Before the modification of the Proto-Australoids into the Austrie people in Asia, groups of them in their primitive physical and cultural condition passed out of India and went to Australia and Tasmania, and in Australia their descendants still survive as the Australian "Black Fellows" ; and the Melanesians of the Pacific also represent another branch of the Proto-Australoids from India. The Austries of history were certainly in a more advanced stage of culture than their Proto-Australoid forbears.

The present-day Munda or Kol and other related languages are descended from the Primitive Austrie Speech of India, and are therefore representatives of the oldest surviving speech-group in India. It was believed by some that the Austries (Proto-Australoids) came to India from Indo-China in the east, but this view is now discarded. Bands of Austrie peoples, however, passed on to the East, out of India, into Burma and Indo-China, into Malaya, and into the islands of Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, where they commingled with other peoples, and the

Austrics imposed their language on them : and in these far-away island areas, the Austric language changed into the Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian speeches, cousins of the Kol or Munda and Mon-Khmer speeches of India and Indo-China. A back-wash of Austric Polynesian migration into South India, in Malabar, is also postulated by some scholars.

Third in order of arrival into India (before 3500 B. C.) were other different groups of civilized Mediterranean peoples, the long-headed Mediterraneans proper, accompanied by Armenoid short-heads, both of which groups probably spoke the same language or group of dialects, from which, in all likelihood, have originated the Dravidian languages of India. We can tentatively call them **Dravidian speakers**. They were a dark or brown, slender, long-headed (barring the Armenoids) and middle-nosed people who formed the most important element, along with the original Aryan-speaking groups, in the evolution of Indian civilization.

Then came the Sino-Tibetan-speaking **Mongoloids** from the East, through Assam and the Himalayas, probably before the advent of the Aryans into India. These Mongoloids had both long-heads and short-heads among them, but their yellow skin, slant eyes, snub noses, high cheek-bones, and scanty hair on the face, made them distinctive. They did not spread all over India, but were confined to the Himalayan slopes and the plains at the foot of the Himalayas, and particularly to North Bihar, North and East Bengal, and Assam.

Finally, after 1500 B. C. came from the West the **Indo-European (Aryan)** speakers, representing two races—the tall, fair, golden-haired, long-headed, blue-eyed, straight-nosed Nordic or true Indo-Europeans (as it is generally believed), and the rather dark, black-haired and short Alpine short-heads. They (i. e. the Nordic Indo-Europeans) came from the South Ural regions, and appear first to have settled in South Russia, and ultimately from South Russia, after 2500 B.C., they arrived, through Iraq or Southern Mesopotamia, Iran and Afghanistan, into India ; and on the way they evidently had absorbed some short-headed Alpine tribes in Asia Minor. They brought the Aryan language into India ; and after their advent, India passed from the pre-historic to the historic age. The Aryan language and Aryan institutions gave the tone to the culture of India, and formed India's great mental and spiritual link with the western world—with Iran, with Greece,

with Italy, with Ireland, with Germany, with Russia, and with the rest of Indo-Europeandom.

Subsequent invaders from the West and the East do not present any new race, excepting, perhaps, the Semitic. Thus we have the Assyrians (who were mixed Semites), the Elamites (of unknown race), Persian Aryans, Macedonians and Greeks, Sakas, Mongoloid Huns and Turks, Semitic Arabs, and the later Iranians ; and Shans and Burmese in the East : and in recent centuries, European peoples like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. With their coming, there was no further racial modification of any fundamental character among the Indian people.

The Indian people, composed of the above diverse racial elements, now speak languages belonging to Four Distinct Speech-Families—the Austric, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan, and the Indo-European (or Aryan). People speaking languages belonging to these four families of speech at first presented distinct culture-groups ; and the Aryans in ancient India were quite conscious of that. Following to some extent the Sanskrit or Old Indo-Aryan nomenclature in this matter, the four main “language-culture” groups of India, namely, the Austric, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan (Mongoloid) and the Indo-European (Aryan), can also be labelled respectively as *Nishāda*, *Dramiḍa* or *Draviḍa*, *Kirāta* and *Ārya*. Indian civilization has elements from all these groups, and basically it is pre-Aryan, with important Aryan modifications within as well as Aryan super-structures at the top. In the four types of speech represented by these, there were, to start with, fundamental differences in formation and vocabulary, in sounds and in syntax. But languages belonging to these four families, *Nishāda* or Austric, *Dramiḍa* or Dravidian, *Kirāta* or Sino-Tibetan, and *Ārya* or Indo-Aryan, have lived and developed side by side for 3000 years and more, and have influenced each other profoundly—particularly the Austric, the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan speeches ; and this has led to either a general evolution, or mutual imposition, inspite of original differences, of some common characteristics, which may be called specifically *Indian* and which are found in most languages belonging to all these families : e. g. the Cerebral or Retroflex sounds of *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ*, and *ḷ* ; the use of “Post-positions” in the Declension of the Noun ; points of similarity in the Structure of the Verb ; Compound Verbs ; “Echo-words” ; etc. Overlaying their genetic diversity, there is thus in

the general run of Indian languages at the present day, *an Indian Character*, which forms one of the bases of that "certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin", of that "general Indian personality", which has been admitted by an Anglo-Indian scholar like Sir Herbert Risley, otherwise so sceptical about India's claim to be considered as one people (see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "The Unity of India", in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, for November 1942).

(5) A General Survey of the Languages of Modern India belonging to the Four Families of Speech

As said before, the Austric languages represent the oldest speech-family of India, but they are spoken by a very small number of people, comparatively. According to the Census of 1931 for undivided India, 257 millions spoke Aryan languages, forming 73% of the population ; a little over 71 millions, forming 21% of the entire population, spoke Dravidian languages ; and only about 5 millions, forming 1.3% , spoke Austric languages ; while the speakers of Sino-Tibetan speeches, coming up to some 4 millions only, formed even less than one per cent, 0.85% , of the total population of India. The overwhelming importance of the Aryan languages can thus be appreciated.

(i) The Austric (Austro-Asiatic) or Nishāda Speeches

The Austric Speech-Family is one which occupies quite a vast terrain, rivalling in its extent most other great Speech-Families. It is now spread, from Central India through Assam and Burma and Malaya and the Indonesian islands, right up to the eastern, the northern and the southern extremities of the Pacific—to the Hawaii Islands in the North, to Rapanui or Easter Island in the East, and to New Zealand in the South. It is also found in Madagascar on the African coast. The Austric languages fall into two main groups : (a) **Austro-Asiatic**, which includes the Austric languages of India of the Kol (Kolian) or Munda group, in Central and Eastern India ; Nicobarese ; the Mon-Khmer speeches of Assam, and of Burma as well as Indo-China (Khasi ; Mon or Talaing of South Burma and South Siam ; Paloung and Wa of North Burma ; Khmer or Cambodian ; some of the lesser known dialects of Indo-China like Stieng and Bahnar ; possibly Cham of Cochin China ; and the Sakai speeches of Malaya) ; and (b) **Austronesian**,

which falls under (i) *Indonesian* or languages allied to Malay—the Malay language itself now being the official language of the Commonwealth Country of Malaya and of the Republic of Indonesia (as the *Bhasa* or *Bahasa Indonesia*) ; Sundanese, Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, the dialects of Borneo (Kalimantan), of Celebes (Sulawesi), and the other islands of the Indonesian Republic ; Tagalog, Visaya, Ilocano and other speeches of the Philippines ; and Malagasi of Madagascar ; (ii) *Melanesian* : Fiji or Viti, New Ireland, New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia and other speeches ; (iii) *Micronesian* dialects as in the Carolines, the Ladrões and other island groups ; and (iv) the *Polynesian* speeches—those of Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, Marquesas, the Paumotu Islands, the Tuamotu Islands, the Hawaii Islands, New Zealand (Maori), etc.

In India, we are concerned with the Kol or Munda speeches, with Khasi of Assam, and with Nicobarese. Austric speakers are believed to have spread over the whole of India at one time. The Austriacs built up the basic agricultural civilization of India, probably in the Ganges Valley. Agriculture with the digging stick (rice cultivation, particularly in terraces in hilly tracts ; some vegetables like the gourd, the yam and the egg-plant ; condiments like ginger, pepper and turmeric ; the betel and areca plants ; and cotton) ; fishing and poultry-raising ; as well as spinning and weaving cotton into thread and cloth—these were the gifts of the Austriacs ; also village organization. They were not an aggressive people, but they had great power of resilience. Before the coming of the Aryans, the Dravidian speech brought to India by the Mediterraneans and the Armenoids appears to have spread among some of the Austriacs ; and in the Sub-Himalayan plains as well as in Eastern India, *Kirāta* or Mongoloid peoples also appear to have settled among or imposed themselves upon the Austriacs.

When the Aryans came, the plains of North India, from Eastern Panjab to Assam, were undoubtedly inhabited by peoples speaking Austric as well as Dravidian and Sino-Tibetan dialects, side by side. This absence of linguistic solidarity among the pre-Aryan peoples of India evidently gave to the Aryan language its great opportunity to spread at the expense of the earlier languages. The Austriacs living in the riverain plains appear gradually to have given up their ancient dialects, allied both to the present-day Kol and the Mon-Khmer speeches, in favour of the speech of a new and energetic *Herrenvolk*, the Aryans. This process

began with the first advent and establishment of the Aryans in India, and is still continuing in those areas where the Austric (Kol) dialects are making their last stand before Aryan expansion. But in the process of abandoning their own language and accepting a new one, namely the Aryan, the Austrics (as well as the Dravidians and the Sino-Tibetans) naturally introduced some of their own speech-habits and their own words into Aryan. In this way, the Austrics and other pre-Aryan peoples helped to modify the character of the Aryan speech in India, from century to century, and even to build up Classical Sanskrit as the great culture-speech of India.

The more primitive groups among the Austrics, who lived in the hills and jungles of Central and Eastern India and in Assam, or who retired to these places before the Dravidians and the Aryans, have upto now preserved their language. Present-day Austric languages are thus speeches of backward peoples living mostly a rather primitive life, in out-of-the-way places. Austric words have found a place in Sanskrit, the ancient Aryan speech of India, and in the Aryan Vernaculars, as well as in Dravidian ; and they refer to the special flora and fauna of India and to local institutions and ideas. But being now speeches of backward peoples, they do not have the richness of the languages of civilization, and are particularly deficient in abstract terms. But they are sufficiently picturesque and concrete, and serve to express their tribal corporate life quite adequately, and have been able to give voice to the poetical soul of the Austric peoples admirably.

The members of the Kol or Munda group of speeches (perhaps a more convenient though equally accurate term for this important group of speeches and peoples in India would be the word *Kolian*, as an extended form of the monosyllabic word *Kol*) are so close to each other that over a thousand years ago we can postulate the existence of a *Single Primitive Kol Speech* as the source of all of them as they are current now : a speech to which we can give the Sanskrit and Prakrit name for the Kols (or Kolians), viz. *Kolla*, as current some 1500 years ago. The more important Austric (Austro-Asiatic) languages of India at the present day are the following. We have now among the Kol speeches, *Santali* in the first instance (spoken by from 2·5 to 3 millions), the largest group in India speaking an *Ādivāsī* or primitive language. The home of Santali is in Chota Nagpur and Santal Pargānas in Bihar

Province. But the Santals, as industrious agricultural labourers, have settled in other parts of Bihar, and in Orissa, in Bengal, and even in distant Assam, in the tea-plantations. Then comes *Mundari*, spoken by a little over 650,000 * people of the Munda tribe living round about Ranchi in South Bihar, and also in Assam ; *Ho*, over 450,000 round Chaibassa in Singhbhum district in South Bihar ; *Kharia*, 180,000 ; *Bhumij*, 113,000 ; and a few other smaller groups in South Bihar ; beside *Korku*, 160,000, in Berar (Maharashtra), and *Savara* or *Sora*, 196,000, and *Gadaba*, 44,000, in Orissa.

Apart from the Austric or Austro-Asiatic languages of the Kol † or Munda group, we have one language of the Mon-Khmer group of Austro-Asiatic which is current in the province of Assam, viz. *Khasi* of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (234,000). Then we have the language of the Nicobarese aborigines (10,000), whose speech also belongs to the Mon-Khmer group, being more closely allied, like Khasi, to Mon and Khmer of Burma, Siam and Indo-China, rather than to Kol of India.

The Austric languages of India have a great interest for the student of linguistics and human culture. They are valuable relics of

* Figures from the Census of India for 1931, and occasionally on the basis of the *Linguistic Survey of India* computations for 1921, as 1941 Census figures are not available. Total population of India, excluding Burma, was over 338 millions in 1931, and nearly 339 millions in 1941. The present population (in 1951) of India is 356 millions, and of Pakistan 76 millions. Total for Undivided India, 432 millions.

† The official name for this group is *Mundā*. But *Munda* is of limited application, as it is the name of one tribe only of this congeries of tribes, viz. the Mundas of Ranchi, whose language is *Mundari*. *Kol*, on the other hand, is the common Indian name for these peoples, and it occurs in Sanskrit as *Kolla*. Originally, it was the national appellation of these peoples, being just the Old Kol word for "man", which now occurs in Santali as *hōr*, in Mundari as *horo* and in Korku as *koro*. Another name for the group is *Kherwari* or *Kherwali*. The name *Kol* has been objected to as it is too short and 'naked', and for that reason we might use, as suggested above, the extended form *Kolian* (in English, and in other European languages, with necessary modifications), and *Kōliya* (or *Kōliya*) as the Sanskrit equivalent for use in Indian languages.

India's past, and they link up India with Burma, with Indo-China, with Malaya, and with Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. They were reduced to writing only in the 19th century by Christian missionaries from Europe, Protestant and Catholic, working among the Santals, the Mundas and others for proselytization. The missionaries employed both Indian scripts (e.g. Bengali for Santali and for Khasi, and Nagari for Mundari) and then the Roman (now exclusively employed for Khasi and Santali). Before the 19th century, we have no specimens of Austric, except some words in a mutilated form borrowed by Sanskrit and other early Indo-Aryan languages. The Austric languages have a rich oral literature of songs and of legendary and other tales, which have been collected and published, particularly in Santali and Mundari, and in Khasi. And a literature, mainly of a Christian inspiration, has been created in some of the Austric speeches, by translating the Bible in entirety or in part. Munda and Santali lyrics give pretty, idyllic glimpses of tribal life, some of the Munda love-poems having a rare freshness about them ; and a number of Santali folk-tales are very beautiful. Collections of popular poetry in most of these languages have been published, and several volumes of Santali traditional and folk-tales, with Santali text and English translation opposite, have been published by the Norwegian Missionary, the late P. O. Bodding, from the Oslo Institute of Comparative Culture and from Copenhagen. The University of Calcutta has given recognition to Santali and Khasi—the former as a mother-tongue which can be offered at the Matriculation (School Final) Examination, and the latter upto the B.A. stage. The Austric-speakers are slowly becoming alive to the value of their language for themselves and for India, but the necessity to learn Hindi or Bihari, Oriya, Bengali or Assamese is also realized. But these languages, one of which at least, viz. Santali, is spoken by a population larger than that of a number of recognized nationalities in Europe (e. g. the Baltic peoples), do not seem to have any future. Their solidarity is broken, and in most places there has been penetration into Austric blocs by the more powerful Aryan speeches with their overwhelming numbers and their prestige. Speakers of Austric in all the wakes of life (they are mostly either small farmers, or farm and plantation or colliery labourers) know some Aryan language. In some cases they have become very largely bilingual. Their gradual Aryanization is a process which started some 3500 years ago, when the first Austrics

(and Mongoloids, as well as Dravidians) in North India started to abandon their native speech for Aryan. It has been sought to give primary education through their mother-tongue to Austric children (particularly among the Khasis), but the speakers of the Austric languages themselves are not very keen. Education with them means now education through Bengali or Hindi or Assamese, and English. A scientific and romantic interest in the Austric languages is making itself manifest among cultured outsiders, particularly in Bengal ; but that cannot save a language from disintegration and disruption when the economic and cultural life is profoundly modified. It is to the scientific interest felt in Austric life and languages that we owe works like Father Hoffmann's *Mundari Encyclopaedia* (in English, in 14 parts, published by the Government of Bihar), the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud and Rev. P. O. Bodding's Collections of Santali Folk-lore and Legends mentioned above, as well as other collections of Santali legends like that by Ramdas Tudu, various collections of the Popular Poetry of the various Kol and other tribes in Bihar (under the direction of W. G. Archer, and published by the Government of Bihar), and a series of books in Khasi compiled and published by Italian Roman Catholic missionaries—Salesians—of Shillong on different aspects of Khasi history, life, literature, religion and general culture. *

* Pater W. Schmidt, the Austrian Linguistician and Anthropologist, postulated the existence of a great Austric family of Languages with its two branches *Austro-Asiatic* (Kol or Munda, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese etc.) and *Austronesian* (Indonesian, Melanesian, Polynesian). But the Hungarian writer on the question, Vilmos Hevesy, some years ago tried to disprove the existence of an Austric Speech-Family, and he sought to dissociate the Kol or Munda speeches from Mon-Khmer and other languages which, according to Schmidt's idea, belong to a common Austric family. Hevesy thought that the Kol speeches were related to the Finno-Ugrian branch of the Ural-Altaic family, and in his opinion the Kol languages formed an old off-shoot of Primitive Ugrian, with profound modifications in India. Hevesy's opinion is weakened by his not being fully at home in Kol linguistics, and he stands alone in this view ; specialists in Austro-Asiatic and Kol have not accepted his theory.

(ii) The Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Chinese) or Kirāta Languages

Peoples of Mongoloid origin, speaking languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, were present in India at least as early as the 10th century B. C., when the four Veda books appear to have been compiled. A terra-cotta giving a head of a pronounced Mongoloid type, as well as Mongoloid skeletal remains, have been found in the Mohen-jo-Daro ruins, which antedate by some two thousand years the advent of the Vedic Aryans in India. The Mongoloid penetration of India is thus older than that of the Aryans. The languages the Mongoloids brought to India fall into several groups, which again belong to one or the other of the two main branches of the original Sino-Tibetan speech, viz. (i) **Tibeto-Burman** and (ii) **Siamese-Chinese**. The original or Primitive Sino-Tibetan speech was characterized in some part of Western China ; and Chinese, Siamese, Burmese and Tibetan and a number of other connected languages and dialects are descended from it. Chinese, with its own system of writing which developed as early as the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C., became a great language of civilization ; and there were points of contact through Buddhism between Chinese and the Indian Aryan speech during the first millennium A. D. Siamese, as a member of the great Dai or Thai group of Sino-Tibetan, to the South of China, was reduced to writing with the Indian alphabet (taken over from the Khmers or Cambodians) in the 13th century, and it developed a literature under Buddhistic and Brahmanical inspiration, largely a replica of some aspects of Sanskrit and Pali literatures. Burmese was similarly reduced to writing in the 11th century, the Mon or Talaing people of Central and South Burma, already Indianized in culture, supplying the Indian alphabet in which Burmese is written, and we have a Burmese literature, also Brahmanical and Buddhist in inspiration. The Tibetans became Buddhists in the middle of the 7th century, and on the basis of the Indian alphabet as employed in Kashmir and North India, the Tibetans built up their own alphabet, and quite a remarkable literary life started in Tibetan, with both translations from Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan and with original compositions. Siamese, and Tibetan, of course, do not belong to India, although they are in close touch with the Indian spirit. They became languages of civilization. But the same cannot be said of the various Sino-Tibetan languages of India, excepting in the case of two, viz. Newari

of Nepal, and Meithei or Manipuri of Manipur. The Indian *Kirāta* or Mongoloid languages mostly belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Family. Quite numerous, they have remained just insignificant hill dialects. Their speakers entered India in prehistoric times through the Brahmaputra Valley and South Assam,* and South-East Bengal as well. But on the plains they have generally given place, and are still giving place, to Indo-Aryan. In certain areas, however, they displaced the Austric speeches, and there are some Tibeto-Burman dialects in the Himalayan slopes which show modification in their grammatical structure through influence of the Austric speeches which they have ousted.

The Tibeto Burman speeches of India fall into the following groups. First, we have (I) *the Himalayan Group of Tibeto-Burman Speeches*, spoken to the West of Bhotan in the tracts to the south of the Himalayas. These are in two sub-groups—(1) the so-called “*Pronominalized*” *Himalayan Tibeto-Burman Dialects* showing evidence of Austric contact and influence in their present structure, and these “*Pronominalized*” dialects further fall into two local groups—(a) a Western (including Kanauri and Lahuli, among others, to the West of Nepal, the total number of people speaking them being only 26,000), and (b) an Eastern (in Eastern Nepal, like Kiranti, Limbu and Dhimal, spoken by some 88,000 people only)—and (2) *the Pure or Non-pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman Dialects* (mostly in the kingdom of Nepal: Murmi, 43,000 persons; Magar 18,000 persons; and a few others; and, above all, Newari, the original language of Nepal valley, spoken by the Newars within Nepal and outside Nepal, probably by 200,000 to 300,000 people). The Rong or Lepcha language, spoken by some 25,000 people only, in Eastern Nepal, Sikkim and Darjeeling, was believed to be a Himalayan Tibeto-Burman speech, but now Dr. Robert Shafer, the American authority on the Sino-Tibetan languages, considers it to be a Naga speech. Lepcha has got an alphabet of its own, but the language is dying out, as its speakers are being absorbed by the Nepali-speakers. These Himalayan Tibeto-Burman speeches appear to be the oldest Sino-Tibetan languages to find a home in India, and the “*Pronominalized*” group may be very old, showing contact with Austric.

After these, we have to mention (II) *the North-Assam*, (III) *the Assam-Burmese* and (IV) *the Tibetan Groups of Indian Tibeto-Burman*. Under (II) the *North-Assam* group come* the Aka,

the Abor-Miri, the Dafla and the Mishmi speeches, confined to only some 18,000 people. (III) The *Assam-Burmese* group is more important, numerically and culturally. This has two ramifications—(1) the *Boḍo-Naga*, and (2) the *Burmese, Kuki-Chin, Kachin, Lolo* sub-groups.

(1) *Boḍo-Naga* includes, first, the great *Boḍo* speech, at one time current over the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, North Bengal and East Bengal, with most of its terrain now lost to the Aryan Bengali and Assamese and also possibly to Maithili, and now split up into a few isolated islands like Koch, Rabha and Mech in North Bengal and Assam plains, Kachari in the Kachar Hills in Assam, Garo in the Garo Hills and Tipra in Tripura State—the total number of people still speaking these scattered *Boḍo* dialects now coming up to nearly 1 million (911,000 persons—230,000 Garos, 291,000 Kacharis, 198,000 Tipras or Mrungs, and the rest speakers of Rabha, Mech and Koch dialects). Next come under *Boḍo-Naga* the various Naga dialects, current among some 350,000 souls, whose speeches (enumerated under different heads like Angami, Sema, Rengma, Ao, Lhota, etc.,—and we have now to add Lepcha of Sikkim and Nepal, as noted before) are often mutually unintelligible.

(2) *The Burmese-Kuki-Chin-Kachin-Lolo* sub-group includes *Burmese*, the importance of which has already been noted—*Burmese* belongs to Burma, and is an advanced language current among more than 12 millions of people; the *Kuki* or *Chin* dialects are current in both India and Burma, and the most advanced speech of this *Kuki-Chin* group is *Meithei* (*Meitei*) or *Manipuri*, the state language of Manipur, spoken by 392,000 people, according to the census of 1931—but the language is spreading among all *Kuki* and *Naga* tribes within the State. The various *Kuki* dialects in India, including *Meithei*, are current among 973,000 people. *Lushai* is another *Kuki* speech (68,000) which is taught in schools. *Kachin* and *Lolo*, closely allied to *Burmese* and *Kuki* or *Chin*, are found only in Burma.

In addition to these, we have to consider *a number of intermediate dialects*, the most important of which is *Mikir* (129,000 persons) in the *Mikir Hills* in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts in Assam, which has a position allied to both *Naga* and *Kuki-Chin*; and the *Empeo* (10,280), the *Khoirao* (15,000) and *Kabui* (11,073) dialects in Assam, intermediate between *Naga* and *Boḍo*.

(IV) The *Tibetan* (*Bod*, *Pö* or *Phö*, or *Bhōṭa*) dialects are recent arrivals in India. There is Central Tibetan of Lhasa, which is Modern Standard Tibetan, and there are the West Tibetan dialects (as in Ladakh, 42,000, and Baltistan, 137,000, both within Kashmir), and the Sikkim Dialect (Denjong-ke), and the Bhutanese Dialect (Lho-ke) of Tibetan. The total number of speakers of Tibetan dialects within India come up to some 252,000 (1931 Census).

Finally, the tale of the Sino-Tibetan speeches in India has to be completed by the mention of the *Ahom* or *Aham* speech, and *Khamti*. These belong to the Dai or Thai group of the Siamese-Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, distinct from the Tibeto-Burman, and they are the most recent arrivals in India. The Ahoms, a people allied to the Shans, the Laos and the Siamese, came to Assam and established their control over the Brahmaputra Valley and the Naga and the Khasi and Jaintia hills to its east and south, from 1228 A. D. They retained their language and its alphabet (based ultimately on the Indian script) for some centuries and cultivated a historical literature of prose chronicles (*buranjis*) in it. But gradually they became transformed into Assamese-speaking Hindus. Ahom is now extinct, but the literature remains in manuscript—one work only has been published with English translation. Khamti is another Thai speech spoken by a few thousands at the extreme east of Assam.

It will be seen that the Sino-Tibetan languages in all their complex ramifications do not have much numerical importance or cultural significance in India, with the exception of two speeches, viz., Newari of Nepal Valley, and Meithei of Manipur. Everywhere they are receding before Aryan languages—Parbatiya or Nepali in Nepal, and Bengali and Assamese. One cannot speak of a "literature" for most of these speeches. They have some folk-tales, a few of which are beautiful (e. g. the Mikir tale of a young man who had a god's daughter as his bride, and the Kachari story of a young man who got a swan-maiden as his wife), but they do not appear to compare favourably with the Kol languages in the matter of both lyric poems and stories. None of these had any alphabet of its own, except for Lepcha, which has an alphabet of Tibetan origin, but possesses very little literature. Exceptions in the matter of script and literature among the Sino-Tibetan languages of India are the Newar speech, and Meithei or Manipuri, as well as Ahom, as has been said before.

Newari, the language of the Tibeto-Burman people who built up the civilization—the arts and crafts of Nepal, had adopted the eastern form of the North-Indian script as its own, and in fact it would appear to have been a written language with the Indian alphabet from the first half of the first millenium after Christ. Its extant literature, however, goes back to the end of the 14th century only, and the oldest book is a chronicle of Nepal. There is a respectable literature in Newari of Mahayana Buddhist inspiration—Newar Buddhists of Nepal as a matter of fact were largely instrumental in preserving the Sanskrit literature of Buddhism. Newari developed under the umbrage of Sanskrit, and also the contiguous Aryan speeches Maithili, Bengali and Kosali or Eastern Hindi, and latterly the Gorkhali. Its vocabulary is highly Sanskritized. *Purāṇa* or legendary tales, lyrics and dramas were composed in it, as well as works of history. Excepting a few works like the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, very little is known about early Newari literature, which remains buried in manuscripts. The Gorkha ruling house, which conquered the Newars in 1768, latterly for the last few decades sought to suppress the language in Nepal, to the extent of strictly controlling publication of books in it. Now, under a fresh Buddhistic revival and the introduction of a purer Buddhism from Ceylon, and as a result of recent political revolution in Nepal, a new move to create a modern literature in Newari has started. It first began in India (Banaras and Kalimpong). Journals are being brought out, and books, mostly religious. One may mention, e. g. a recent narrative poem in Newari on the life of the Buddha, the *Sugata-Saurabha* or “the Fragrance of the Buddha (Sugata)” by Chittadhar Upāsak ‘Hṛday’, a well-known poet of Nepal, a poem in 19 cantos, published in India with illustrations in the Old Newari style. The old Newari script was never cast in type, and modern Newari books are now being printed the Nagari script of Hindi and Nepali. Newari, it is expected, will be soon taught in schools as a mother-tongue, and the ban against it taken away ; but it can at best remain a secondary language in India.

Meithei or Manipuri had its own peculiar alphabet, also of Indian origin, which probably came to be used in writing it as early as the 15th century. The upper classes had become Hinduized by that time at least. There is a fairly extensive literature in Early Manipuri in this script, dealing with the Meithei myths, legends and legendary history, but very little of it has been published. The

Manipuris were Hindus, Vaishnavas, from the very beginning, and in the middle of the 18th century, Bengali Vaishnava teachers belonging to the Chaitanya School of Vaishnavism went from Sylhet to Manipur and converted the local prince and the upper classes to this from of the Hindu religion. The Manipuris are now devout Vaishnavas of the Bengal School, and they gradually abandoned their old script and took up the Bengali or Bengali-Assamese script to write their language. A Modern Manipuri literature has grown up, under Bengali and English inspiration (Navadwip or Nadiya in Bengal became a great religious and cultural centre for the Manipuris, besides Mathura and Brindaban in Upper India), consisting of novels (original, or adaptations and translations from Bengali), short stories, dramas, essays and long poems. The study of the older literature has also begun. There is a *Manipurī Sāhitya Parishad* (Academy of Manipuri Literature) at Imphal, the capital of the State. Sanskrit works like the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, the Gītā, the Gita-govinda, and adaptations of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata are available in Manipuri, the Manipuri Sanskrit scholar Paṇḍitarāja Atombapu Vidyāratna taking a leading part in this line through a series of translations and other works brought out from his own press in Imphal. There are at least three play-houses in Imphal staging Manipuri dramas, original or adaptations from Bengali and English ; and one great Manipuri writer, the late poet Hijum Anganghal Singh (1944) has composed a huge poem of some 39,000 lines in Meithei on a popular theme, old ballads about which in Manipuri are still sung, viz. the love of the Hero Khamba and the Princess Thoibi, 12th century hero and heroine of the most popular romantic story of Manipur. Only about a fourth of this poem is now in print. Meithei is taught in the colleges, and upto the B. A. standard ; and the language, with Newari, may ultimately find a permanent place among the literary languages of India,—provided their normal expansion is not restricted by the tremendous force of the Aryan speech in India, whether as Nepali or as Bengali or Assamese, or as Hindi.

(iii) . The Dravidian Languages

Dravidian is the second important language-family of India, current among some 71 to 72 millions of people, and it forms a solid bloc in South India, embracing the four great literary languages,

Tamil (some 20 millions, plus 2 millions of settled Tamilians in Ceylon, and about 200,000 in Malaya), *Malayalam* (over 9 millions), *Kannada* (over 11 millions) and *Telugu* (over 33 millions), and a number of less important speeches like *Tulu* (152,000) and *Kodagu* or the speech of Coorg (45,000), and *Badaga* and *Kota*, all of which are over-shadowed by *Kannada*, *Tamil* and *Malayalam*, and *Toda* (less than 1000, in the Nilgiri Hills), besides *Kolami* (29,000), which is closely related to *Telugu*. In Central and Eastern India, there are several uncultivated Dravidian dialects—*Gondi* (1,865,000) scattered in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Madras State; *Kandh* or *Kui* (586,000) and *Parji* and *Ollari* in Orissa; *Kurukh* or *Oraon* (1,038,000) in Bihar and Orissa; and *Malto* (71,000) in the Rajmahal Hills between Bihar and Bengal, at the southern bend of the Ganges. Further there is *Brahui* (207,000), an important Dravidian speech detached from the others and confined to Balochistan. This *Brahui* is undoubtedly a remnant of the great Dravidian *bloc* which at one time existed in Sindh and possibly also in the Panjab and Eastern Iran, down to Gujarat and the Maratha country, when the Aryans were making their advent into India. The speakers of all these uncultivated Dravidian languages have to learn other languages (*Telugu*, *Hindi*, *Marathi*, *Bhojpuri*, *Oriya* and *Bengali* in the case of the Central and Eastern Indian dialects, and *Balochi* and *Persian* in the case of *Brahui*—languages which have penetrated into their proper areas).

Structurally, the Dravidian languages belong to what has been called the *Agglutinative* speeches, to which class fall also the *Ural-Altaic* languages (the *Uralic* speeches—*Magyar*, *Finnish*, *Esthonian* and *Lapp*, and *Vogul*, *Siryen*, *Cheremis*, *Mordvin* and *Ostyak* of Russia; and the *Altaic* speeches—*Turkish* both Eastern and Western, *Mongol*, *Manchu* and *Yakut*). In fact a genetic connexion has been sought to be established between Dravidian on the one hand and *Ural-Altaic* on the other, but such fundamental connexion suggesting a common origin has not been accepted by the general run of Dravidianists as well as specialists in *Uralic* and in *Altaic* speeches. This agglutinative structure of Dravidian has profoundly modified in India the inflexional system of *Indo-Aryan* or *Indo-European*. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the other two speech-families of India, namely the *Austic* and the *Sino-Tibetan*, differ fundamentally in both their structures and roots and words from both the agglutinative Dravidian and the inflexional *Indo-Aryan*.

The Austric languages are prefix-, suffix-, and infix-adding speechcs with polysyllabic roots and words, which tended to become monosyllabic through phonetic decay in the Mon-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic branch of this family ; while the Sino-Tibetan languages are monosyllabic and isolating in their structure, with a developed affixation in certain advanced languages like Tibetan and Burmese.

It is believed that the wonderful city-civilization of Sindh and South Panjab as well as Balochistan (3250 B. C.-2750 B. C.) was the work of Dravidian-speakers. But we cannot be absolutely certain in this matter, so long as the inscribed seals from the city-ruins in those areas like Harappa, Mohen-jo-Daro etc. remain undeciphered. The art of writing would appear to have been borrowed from the pre-Aryan Sindh and South Panjab people by the Aryan-speakers, probably in the 10th century B. C., to which period the 'beginnings of the *Brāhmī* alphabet, the characteristic Indian system of writing connected with Sanskrit and Prakrit in pre-Christian centuries, may be traced.

The Dravidian speech in its advent in India is older than Aryan, and yet (leaving apart the problematical writings on the seals found in Sindh and South Panjab city-ruins) the specimens of connected Dravidian writing or literature that we can read and understand are over a millennium later than the oldest Aryan documents. Of the four great Dravidian languages, Tamil has preserved its Dravidian character best, retaining, though not the old sound-system of Primitive Dravidian, a good deal of its original nature in its roots, forms and words. The other three cultivated Dravidian speeches have, in the matter of their words of higher culture, completely surrendered themselves to Sanskrit, the classical and sacred language of Hindu India.

Tamil has a unique and a very old literature, and the beginnings of it go back to about 2000 year from now. Malayalam as a language is an off-shoot of Old Tamil—from the 9th century A. D. some Malayalam characteristics begin to appear, but it is from the 15th century that Malayalam literature took its independent line of development. Kannada as a cultured language is almost as old as Tamil ; and although we have some Telugu inscriptions dating from the 6th-7th century, the literary career of Telugu started from the 11th century.

For practical purposes, these four Dravidian languages alone

deserve consideration. Tamil and Malayalam are very close to each other, and are mutually intelligible to a certain extent. Kannada also bears a great resemblance to Tamil and Malayalam. Only Telugu has deviated a good deal from its southern neighbours and sisters. But Telugu and Kannada use practically the same alphabet, which is thus a bond of union between these two languages. But there has developed no interlingual speech in the Dravidian family, unlike Hindi in the Indo-Aryan group. Dravidian-speakers, to communicate among themselves when they use different speeches not known to both the speakers, fall back upon some common non-Dravidian language as a *Lingua Franca*—they must use either Sanskrit (as in the case of old-fashioned Brahmans and others), or English, or Hindustani.

The four cultivated Dravidian speeches are considered in greater detail later.

(iv) The Indo-Aryan Languages and Dialects

The Indo-European language-family, the most important in the world at the present day, is represented in India by its Aryan languages, spoken, as mentioned before, by 257 millions of people. They form the greatest mental and spiritual link between India and the civilized lands of the West. Persian ; Armenian ; Greek ; Russian and other Slav languages ; the Baltic speeches, Lithuanian and Latvian ; Latin and its daughters Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and the rest ; the Germanic languages, like English, Swedish and German ; and the Celtic tongues, Gaelic, Welsh and Breton ;—all these are related to Sanskrit of Ancient India and to its descendants Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and other Aryan languages of Modern India. The original Indo-European source-speech, from which the Aryan languages of India equally with most of those of Europe have descended, is supposed to have taken shape in the dry Eurasian plains at the foot of the Ural Mountains some 5000 years ago. From there it passed on to the West, to the plains of West Russia and Poland, from where further migrations of Indo-European tribes to the West—to West and North Europe and Central Europe and Italy—and to the South—to Greece—took place. The Hittites were perhaps the earliest off-shoot of the pre-historic Indo-Europeans who had established themselves in Asia Minor by 2000 B. C., and had built up a great empire

by the middle of the second millennium B. C. One group of Indo-Europeans, the Aryans, connected closely with the Baltic and Slav groups, found themselves in Mesopotamia by 2200 B. C., having arrived there from the original or first home-land of the Indo-Europeans in the dry tracts to the south of the Ural Mountains through South Russia and the Caucasus Mountains. Some tribes of these Aryan Indo-Europeans, like the Manda, the Mitanni, the Harri, the Kassi, settled down in Mesopotamia, ultimately to be absorbed, after losing their languages, among the local peoples of Semitic (Assyrio-Babylonian) and Asianic origin. Others pushed on to the east, into Iran, where some of the Aryan tribes remained, like the Mada, the Parsa and the Saka (who also as a back-wash once again passed into South Russia and went also to Central Asia); while other tribes, the Bharatas., the Bhrgus, the Druhyus, the Kr̥vis, the Sṛñjayas, the Ailas, pushed on to India, trekking from Persia. This took place at a time certainly not before 1500 B. C. In India, and possibly before that in Iran also, the Aryan-speaking tribes (anthropologically they are believed to have been a congeries of two distinct races—the tall long-headed Nordics, and the short narrow-headed Alpines), came in touch with non-Aryan peoples, Dravidian and Austric, first as invading foes and then as masterful and well-organized neighbours. In India, to the east of the Panjab, they met the Mongoloids too. The Nordic long-headed Aryans were mostly in the Panjab, whence they passed into Rajasthan in the south and as far as Bihar in the east; and it is believed that the Alpine short-headed Aryans were pushed to Sindh and Gujarat and to Orissa and Bengal. But the old movements of the Aryans are not at all clear, in India and elsewhere.

In India, the Aryans, who were largely pastoral and semi-nomadic and partly agricultural, found settled populations of non-Aryan peoples—the city-dwelling Dravidians, and the Austrics concentrated in their villages, both thriving on agriculture. The civilization of Hindu India resulted from the fusion of the cultures of the Aryans and the pre-Aryans, just as the Hindu or Indian people is largely the result of miscegenation of these various peoples. Non-Aryan influences on Aryan, which probably started in Iran, already affected the Aryan speech very early. When it first came to India, the Aryan speech (with some new

characteristics marking it off from its sister in Persia, the Old Iranian—characteristics noticed both in grammar and in pronunciation) was in what is known as the *Old Indo-Aryan* stage. The hymns and poems which the Aryans—particularly the Nordic Aryans—composed about their Gods were collected in India in the four Vedas, probably sometime during the 10th century B. C. From the mass of hymns and poems and sacrificial ritualistic directions current orally among the priests of the Aryan-speakers, the sage Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, who was largely of non-Aryan blood himself, compiled the four Vedas, the Rig, the Yajur, the Sāman and the Atharvan. The speech of the Rig-veda hymns gives us the oldest specimens of the Aryan language in India ; and it is a literary form of the various dialects of their language brought by the Aryans into India. From the Panjab, the Aryan speech spread east along the valley of the Ganges, and by 600 B. C., it was well-established throughout the whole of the Northern Indian plains up to the eastern borders of Bihar. The non-Aryan Dravidian and Austric dialects (and in some places the Sino-Tibetan speeches too) yielded place to the Aryan language, which, both through natural change and through its adoption by a larger and larger number of people alien to it, began to be modified in many ways ; and this modification was largely along the lines of the Dravidian and Austric speeches. The Aryan speech entered in this way into a new stage of development, first in Eastern India (Bihar and the Eastern U. P. tracts) and then elsewhere—the Panjab, as the original *nidus* of the Aryans in India, with a larger proportion of born Aryan-speakers, remaining true to the spirit of the older Vedic speech—the Old Indo-Aryan—to the last, to even as late as the 3rd century B. C., and possibly still later. This new stage of development, which became established during the middle of the first millennium B. C., is known as that of *Middle Indo-Aryan*, or *Prakrit* (*Prākṛta*). The spoken dialects of Aryan continued to have their own lines of development in the different parts of North India, and these were also spreading over Sindh, Rajasthan and Gujarat, and Northern Deccan, as well as into Bengal and in the Sub-Himalayan regions. The whole country in North, East and Central India was thus becoming Aryanized through the spread of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan dialects.

While spoken forms of the Aryan speech of this second stage

were spreading among the masses in this way, a younger form of the Vedic speech was established by the Brahmans in Northern Panjab and in the "Midland" (i. e. present-day Eastern Panjab and Western U. P.) as a fixed literary language, during the 6th-5th centuries B. C. This younger form of Vedic or Old Indo-Aryan, which was established just when the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) dialects were taking shape, later came to be known as *Sanskrit*. Sanskrit became one of the greatest languages of civilization, and it has been the greatest vehicle as well as expression of Indian culture for the last 2500 years (or for the last 3000 years, if we take its older form Vedic also). Its history—that of Vedic-cum-Sanskrit—as a language of religion and culture has been longer than that of any other language—with the exception possibly of written Chinese, and Hebrew. It may be noted that Vedic and the later (Classical) Sanskrit stand in the same relation to each other as do Homeric and Attic Greek.

Sanskrit spread with the spread of Hindu or Ancient Indian culture (of mixed Austric, Mongoloid, Dravidian and Aryan origin) beyond the frontiers of India : and by 400 A. D., it became a great cultural link over the greater part of Asia, from Bali, Java and Borneo in the South-East to Central Asia in the North-West, China too falling within its sphere of influence, wherever Indian religion (Buddhism and Brahmanism) was introduced or was adopted. A great literature was built up in it—epics of national import, *belles lettres* of various sorts including the drama, technical literature, philosophical treatises—every department of life and thought came to be covered by the literature of Sanskrit.

The various Prakrits or Middle Indo-Aryan dialects continued to develop and to expand. Some of these were adopted by Buddhist and Jaina sects in Ancient India as their sacred languages, notably Pali among the Buddhists of the Hīnayāna or Southern School. The process of simplification of the Aryan Speech, which began with the Second or Middle Indo-Aryan stage, continued, and by 600 A. D. we come to the last phase of Middle Indo-Aryan, known as the *Apabhraṃśa* stage. Further modification of the regional Apabhraṃśas of the period 600-1000 A. D. gave rise, with the beginning of the 2nd millennium A. D., to the *New Indo-Aryan* or *Modern Indo-Aryan* languages, or *Bhāṣās*, which are current at the present day.

These New Indo-Aryan Languages, coming ultimately from Vedic Sanskrit (or "Sanskrit", in a loose way), are closely related to each other, like the Neo-Romanic languages derived out of Latin. It is believed that inspite of local differences in the various forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, right up to the New Indo-Aryan development, there was a sort of pan-Indian Vulgar or *Koinē* form of Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan. But local differences in Middle Indo-Aryan grew more and more pronounced during the centuries round about 1000 A. D., and this led to the provincial New Indo-Aryan languages taking shape and being born. Taking into note these basic local characteristics, the New Indo-Aryan speeches have been classified into a number of local groups.

Below is given an enumeration of the more important languages and dialects of New Indo-Aryan, classified in their proper circles or groups with certain common characteristics or tendencies often not found in the other groups. The approximate number of speakers is also indicated, in millions, after each language or dialect, within brackets. *

* These figures are tentative and are only approximate—accurate figures are lacking and are wanting for both the Censuses of 1931 and 1941, particularly with regard to a number of languages coming under Groups I, III, IV, V and VI as indicated below. An asterisk before a figure indicates the *Linguistic Survey of India* estimates on the basis of the Census for 1921. The disagreement of the total of these figures with 257 millions as the number of Aryan-speakers in India for 1931 is due to the non-inclusion of Iranian and Dardic speeches in the list given here (which is for Indo-Aryan only), and to the disagreement between the Census figures and the *Survey* estimates, which latter have in some cases to be given preference. After the Partition of India into India and Pakistan as two independent States in 1947, there has been a wide-spread shift of population—most Hindus having been forced to leave West Pakistan and to come to India as displaced persons and refugees, and over 3½ millions of Hindus from East Bengal out of 10 millions have similarly been compelled to leave East Bengal for West Bengal and other provinces of India. (40 millions of Muslims on the other hand are living in India as Indian nationals with full and equal rights with the Hindus, the Christians and others.) All this has meant a dislocation of the situation for certain languages, e. g. Sindhi and Hindki, and Bengali; and it will be some time before matters take a final shape, if they can ever do it at all in the present world.

I. *North-Western Group* : (1) Hindkī, or Lahnda, or Western Panjabi dialects, $8\frac{1}{2}$; (2) Sindhi (with Kachhi), 4.

II. *Southern Group* : (3) Marāṭhī , 21 (with Koṅkaṇī, $*1\frac{1}{2}$).

III. *Eastern Group* : (4) Oṛiā , 11 ; Bengali 67 (63 according to Census of 1941) ; (6) Assamese, $2\frac{1}{2}$; (7) the Bihari speeches, $*37$, viz, (a) Maithili, $*10$, (b) Magahī, $*6\frac{1}{2}$, and (c) Bhojpurī, with Sadānī or Choṭā-Nāgpurī, $*20\frac{1}{2}$; (8) Halbī (of Bastar State in Madhya Pradesh, usually classed under Marathī), only about 105,000 speakers.

IV. *East-Central or Mediate Group* : (9) Kosalī or Eastern Hindi (in 3 dialects, Awadhī, Bagheli and Chattisgarhī), $*22\frac{1}{2}$.

V. *Central Group* : (10) Hindi Proper, or Western (Pachāhī) Hindi, including its various forms, in two groups, $*41$: (a) 'Vernacular Hindustani' (*Jānapad Hindī*) ; *Khaṛī-bōlī* or the Standard Speech of Delhi, with its two literary forms High Hindi and Muslim Hindi or Urdu, and the Bāṅgarū or Jāṭū dialect ; and (b) Braj-bhākhā, Kanaujī and Bundelī ; (11) Panjabi, or Eastern Panjabi (including Dogri, the language of the Panjab Hills and of Jammu), $15\frac{1}{2}$; (12) Rājasthānī-Gujarātī group— (a) Gujarātī, 11, and (b) the Rājasthānī dialects, like Mālavi, Mārwarī, Jaipuri and Mewāṭī, 14, and (c) the Bhīlī dialects, 2 (besides the Saurāshṭrī dialect in South India, and Gujarī in Panjab and Kashmir).

VI. *Northern or Pahārī or Himalayan Group* : (13) Eastern Pahārī : Gorkhālī (Khas-kurā, Parbatiyā or Nepālī) in Nepal and India? 6 ; (14) Central Pahārī : Garhwālī and Kumāonī dialects, $*1$; and (15) Western Pahārī dialects : Chameālī, Kūlū, Maṇḍeālī, Kīūnṭhālī, Sirmaurī, etc. : $*1$.

Extra-Indian Groups : VIII. Sinhalese of Ceylon, with Maldivian ; and VIII. The Romani or Gipsy dialects of Western Asia and Europe.

The above gives a fairly comprehensive conspectus of the main languages and dialects of the Indo-Aryan Group. The speakers of these in India employ in education, literature and public life one or the other of the ten literary languages enumerated before, viz. Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Marathī, Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi and Nepali (Kashmiri is noted below).

(v) Other Languages

Another group of Aryan is the *Dardic*. This includes a number of dialects spoken by small and rather primitive tribes in Kashmir in India, in the extreme North-Western mountain region of Pakistan, and in Afghanistan, (like Kho-war or Chitrali, Bashgali and Pashai, which are rapidly coming under the influence of Pashto, the language of the Afghans, and Persian). Kashmiri (nearly 1½ millions, in the Valley of Kashmir) and Shina (60,000, in North-Western Kashmir) are Dardic speeches current among large numbers. Most scholars now think that Dardic is just a branch of Indo-Aryan. But it would appear that, owing to some special developments of its own, Dardic Aryan (specially Kafir) should be looked upon as a distinct group within the Aryan branch of Indo-European, the other two groups being Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Some have seen in the Dardic dialects of the present day a transformation of the Old Aryan speech as it was used by the short-headed Alpines. Kashmiri, although Dardic by origin, very early came under the influence of Sanskrit and the later Prakrits, and it became a literary language of some importance in the hands of both Brahmans and Muslims. Some important Sanskrit works were composed by Kashmiri scholars. Other Dardic languages have not developed any literature, so far.

Two important languages of the *Iranian Group* also belong to India (now to Pakistan)—Pashto (the language of the Pathans or Afghans, in the North-West Frontier Province, over 1½ millions, with more Pashto-speakers in Afghanistan), and Balochi (628,000) in Balochistan. Each of these is in two dialects.

Then, in the north of Kashmir, in the principality of Hunza and Nagyr in Gilgit, there is *Burushaski* or *Khajuna* (26,000), a mystery language which has not yet been finally affiliated to any known speech-family—connexion with the Caucasian languages on the one hand and with the Austric (Kol) on the other have both been suggested.

Leaving the Iranian languages apart, and the Dardic languages (with the exception of Kashmiri), we can now take up the Indo-Aryan languages (and the more important dialects) and estimate their importance, intrinsic and relative, as well as their character. Owing to geographical, economic, political and cultural reasons which need not be entered into here, certain speeches have gained a pre-eminence over others, even in the homelands of these latter.

As it has happened in Europe and elsewhere, a language may have begun well, and developed a great literature, and then gradually it languished and became reduced to the position of a *patois*, under the shadow of a sister or cousin speech which usurped its place in political and cultural life. Witness the case of Provençal in France, or of Catalan beside Castilian in Spain. In this way, Maithili, Kosali and Rajasthani, which had active literary life a few hundred years or even a few generations ago (a continuation of which we still find operating), have now sunk to the position of little-cultivated or uncultivated vernacular speeches dominated by their cousin Hindi. Similarly, Braj-bhasha has yielded its early literary pre-eminence to High Hindi, a sister dialect, although it is still cultivated for literature to a considerable extent. Again, certain speeches current among backward communities had no chance to develop literatures, and they had to accept the tutelage of a more advanced relative : e. g. the Central Pahari dialects Garhwali and Kumaoni, which now find their literary form in Hindi, and the Halbi speech of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, speakers of which also are now taking to Hindi as their literary language as something inevitable.

Linguistically or scientifically, each little dialect has its own value, as much as any great literary language ; but culturally, and in practical life, they are not all equal. Often the earlier literature and the current folk-literature in the dialects or in a lesser known language of the present day have their place in the history of Indo-Aryan literature ; but that does not appear to help them much in competing with a connected or contiguous bigger language which came to have a superior place during the past two generations (e. g. Bhojpuri or Marwari *vis-à-vis* Standard Hindi).

(6) The New Indo-Aryan Languages and Dialects (Aryan Speeches of Modern India), with brief Notes on the Background of their Literature

I. The North-Western Speeches

Hindki or Lahnda or Western Panjabi is not a single speech, it is a group of dialects which could never be bound together by a common literary language. These dialects are current in the North-West Frontier Province and in West Panjab. Multani, the Shahpur district speech, the speech round about Attock, and the Western

Panjabi language as used by settled communities of Hindus in Afghanistan, are typical descendants of the North-Western Prakrit, to which the name *Gāndhārī* has been recently given by Dr. H. W. Bailey (from *Gandhāra*, the ancient name of this area). Pāṇini, 5th century B. C., the great grammarian of Sanskrit and Vedic, was a native of this tract : he belonged to the village of Sālātura, present-day Halāur or Lāhaur, in Attock district. The Hindki-speakers, barring composing a few songs and ballads (those relating to the adventures of Rājā Risālū are well-known), never cultivated their language. Only the Sikhs composed in it a work of some importance, the *Janam-sākhī*, in the 16th century, relating to the life of the founder of the Sikh sect Guru Nānak. The speakers of Hindki easily take to the Urdu form of Hindi, which is the language of public life and education in Western Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province ; and the few Sikhs who cultivated the local language of the Panjab cultivated East Panjabi. If the Hindki dialects are at all written, the Muslims use for it the Perso-Arabic script, the Hindus the Nāgarī, and the Sikhs Gurmukhi which is closely allied to the Nāgarī.

East Panjabi has some literary life, of Sikh inspiration mostly, but a good number of Hindu and Muslim writers also are found. It is written in three alphabets—the Gurmukhi and the Nāgarī (both allied scripts, and very similar to each other, but Gurmukhi is looked upon by the Sikhs as the only proper alphabet of Panjabi), and the Perso-Arabic. When we speak of 'Panjabi literature', we mean this East Panjabi literature. This is discussed later. East Panjabi-speakers are equally at home in Urdu, and to some extent in High Hindi also ; and its speakers (barring the Sikhs) admit it is a language of a rustic character, although it is quite a vigorous speech *vis-à-vis* the more cultured Urdu and Hindi.

The North-Western speeches (Hindki and Panjabi) are in their phonetics more archaic than other forms of New Indo-Aryan—these have generally maintained the double consonants of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) where they have been reduced to single consonants (e.g. *camm*, *hatth*, *kall* 'skin, hand, yesterday or tomorrow' for *cām*, *hāth*, *kāl* elsewhere). The sound of *h*, and the aspirates *bh* *dh* *gh* etc. have special developments in these North-Western speeches, with the introduction of tone or pitch in Eastern Panjabi. The Old Indo-Aryan future affix for the verb (*-sya-*, *-īśya-*) is

preserved as *-s-* in Hindki—although everywhere else it is lost, or found as *-h-* in certain cases. The words for 'we, you (plural)', from OIA. *asmē*, **tuṣmē*, beside *yuṣmē*, are *assī*, *tussī* (= *ham*, *tum* in Hindi). In these two speeches, the genitive affix is *-dā*, *-dē*, *-dī* (for *-kā*, *-kē*, *-ki* of Hindi).

Sindhi does not boast of an extensive literature. It has, as an Indo-Aryan language, some very archaic characteristics, and it is closely related to Hindki or West Panjabi—in fact, Sindhi and Multani are mutually intelligible. But it would appear that there was literary cultivation of Old Sindhi, which began before 1000 A. D., when an Arabic version of the Mahābhārata story appears to have been made from Old Sindhi. In the subsequent centuries, a small literature consisting of a number of beautiful romantic and heroic ballads, some of which are also historical, came into being, which is preserved in parts in Modern Sindhi. Sindhi had its own script of native Indian origin, which is now confined in manuscript account-books and correspondence among the Hindu business community speaking Sindhi, now almost wholly refugees in India. But during the second half of the 19th century, the Hindu clerks under British employ built up an elaborate alphabet for Sindhi based on the Perso-Arabic. The older literature of ballads and poems has not been much investigated. The greatest writer of Sindhi is the Sufi poet Shāh Abdul Latīf of Bhit, 18th century (1689-1752), whose poems and songs form the great classics of Sindhi. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Hindus of Sindh built up a literature of modern inspiration, writing Sindhi in its Perso-Arabic script. In India, Sindhi refugees are now trying to adopt the Nāgarī script for their language. The intellectual classes in Sindh were mostly Hindu, and with the forcing out of the latter to India after the Partition, the language appears to have had a set-back, Urdu dominating the field. But Sindhi Muslims are once again feeling a patriotic interest and pride in their language and its literature, considering that a Muslim, Shāh Abdul Latīf, is its best known writer, and that there are good many modern writers of note in Sindhi who are Muslims.

The Sindhi language has preserved many old features in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary from its Prakṛit base. Its characteristic suffix for the genitive is *-jō*, *-jī*, *-jā*; and it agrees in many matters with Rajasthani-Gujarati also.

II. The Southern Group

Marathi has a well-developed literature, coming down from the 12th century, with one or two writers of a pan-Indian character, and it is quite a progressive speech. It uses the Nāgarī script (known in Maharashtra as the *Bāl-bōdh*), same as in Hindi. There was an older alphabet called the *Mōḍī*, based on the old form of the Indian alphabet current in the Maratha land, but it is now becoming obsolete.

Kōṅkaṇī, the language of Goa and of the Bombay coast, is split up into a number of dialects, one of which, that of Goa, has become a literary speech under Portuguese Roman Catholic auspices for the local Christian population (the "Luso-Indians"). For this Goanese Konkani, the Roman script in Portuguese orthography is used. Hindu Konkani-speakers normally employ Marathi for literature and public life. Attempts to set up Konkani as a literary language beside Marathi have been half-hearted and so far not successful, except partially in the case of Goanese; and the barrier of script apart, Goanese-speakers all understand and speak Marathi.

Marathi and Konkani have a few differences in grammar, but they have far more in common. The characteristic affix for the noun in the genitive for both Marathi and Konkani are *-cā* (= *-tsā*), *-cē*, *-cī*; and the affix for the past tense of the verb is *-l-*, which is a point of agreement between the Southern and the Eastern speeches.

III. The Eastern Speeches

Bengali, Oriya and Assamese form the easternmost group of these Eastern Speeches, which all come from the old Prakrit of the Aryan Far East, the *Māgadhi*. Bengali and Assamese are written in the same script (excepting two special letters for Assamese), and early Bengali and early Assamese literatures converge into virtually the same literature. But Assam has had an independent or separate existence from Bengal, and hence Assamese-speakers feel as belonging to a different language-culture group. There is among the Assamese *intelligentsia* the fear of being overwhelmed by Bengali (3 millions before over 65 millions), and this makes them exceedingly sensitive in the matter of their language and its culture. There is a good deal of literary activity in Assamese in spite of its numerical handicap. The grammar of the two languages is very similar, but it is the pronunciation of Assamese, and its preference for folk-

words, that make it appear different from Bengali. Assamese has some unique phonetic habits—it turns the sibilant sound (written ś, ṣ, s) into the guttural unvoiced spirant (like the German *ch* in *ach*, *doch* and the Persian and Arabic *kh* = *x*, as in *khush*, *khobar*): words like Śiva and Vāsudeva being turned to Khiwa (Xiwa) and Bākhudewa (Bāxudewa); and for the two series of sounds, the cerebral *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh* and the dental *t th d, dh*, a third series, the alveolar one, as in English, is used in Assamese. All this makes Assamese appear rather foreign not only before speakers of distant languages like Hindustani, Panjabi, or Marathi, but also before Bengali-speakers whose language is otherwise so very near to Assamese.

Bengali is the *mother-tongue*, the *home-language* of the largest number of people of India. Although Hindi or Hindustani is understood by, and is current as an auxiliary language among, a much greater number, it is in the same way the home-language of a much smaller number than Bengali. Among modern Indian languages, Bengali has acquired an international prestige as the language of Rabindranath Tagore. It is an expressive and well-cultivated speech, and Bengali writers from the second half of the 19th century, like the novelists Bankim Chandra Chatterj (1838-1894) and Śarat Chandra Chatterji (1876-1938) and the poet Māikel Madhusūdan Datta (1823-1873), have had a pan-Indian influence and importance. Bengali Literature is one of the most important in Modern India—a literature the beginnings of which go back to the 10th century A. D.

Oriya preserves many archaic features among the Magadhan languages, and it has its own literature, a medieval literature largely in a highly Sanskritized rhetorical style, and a modern literature of European inspiration, directly from English and also through Bengali. Its script is a newly developed form of the same pan-Indian script which was in use in the eastern part of North India (Eastern U. P., Bihar, Nepal, Bengal, Assam and Orissa). Bengali and Oriya are largely mutually intelligible.

The Bengali-Assamese-Oriya group possesses in common some special affixes. The genitive affix for the noun has *-r* (Bengali *-er*, *-r* and *-kār*, Assamese *-ar*, Oriya *-ara*, *-kara*), and the temporal bases of the verb show *-il-* for the past and *-ib-* for the future. The other three Eastern speeches (Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri) also show *-r* and *-kar* for the genitive of the pronouns, but it is *-k*, *-ke* for the noun, and *-al-*, *-ab-* (instead of *-il-*, *-ib-*) for the verb. The Bihari speeches as

well as dialectal Bengali also have an affix *-t-* for the future tense of the verb in some cases.

Of the three "Bihari Speeches", as they have been grouped by Grierson, Maithili and Magahi are very similar to each other : in fact, some Maithili-speakers have claimed that Magahi is just a dialect of Maithili. Magahi has no literature worth mentioning—except some ballads and songs, and only one Magahi writer so far had tried to produce serious literature in Magahi (the late Jainath Pati of Nawada, who wrote and published two short stories in Magahi). It is said that versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and some folk-ballads like the Song of Lorik, are available in manuscript in Magahi. But Magahi-speakers have not so far shown any keen interest about their language, and although a group of young college-educated men are making an attempt to write in Magahi and are bringing out a little paper in it, (the *Bihān* or 'Dawn'), the speakers of Magahi now learn and use Hindi.

Maithili has kept up its literary life to the present day, and it has been recognized as an independent language in the Universities of Calcutta, Patna and Banaras. But Hindi is dominant now in Bihar and Mithila, and attempts to revive Maithili (as a language of school education and as a literary language) are meeting with indifferent success. It has a long succession of writers, beginning from the first quarter of the 14th century, to which period the oldest available text of Maithili belongs (the *Varṇa-ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Thākura, which is a sort of story-reciters' hand-book giving set descriptions of various things—a king's audience, a feast, the various seasons, a beautiful lady, a poet, the various Gods, a hunting expedition, etc. : cf. edition of the *Varṇa-ratnākara* by Babuā Miśra and Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, with English Introduction by S. K. Chatterji). The greatest writer of Maithili is the poet Vidyāpati (c. 1400 A. D.), whose little lyrics made him famous not only among Maithili-speakers but also in Bengal, where he had a host of imitators who created a new literary speech in Bengal, called the *Braja-buli*, through a mixture of Bengali and Maithili. At present, there is some amount of literary use of Maithili, with the publication of novels and short stories, poems, essays, and monthly journals. The old Maithili script, very like the Bengali-Assamese, has been cast in type, but it is not much used, printers and readers finding the Nāgarī ready at hand and

consequently more convenient. (For detailed study of the literature in Maithili, see Jayakānta Miśra, 'History of Maithili Literature', 2 vols., Allahabad, 1949-50.)

Bhojpuri is the language of a very energetic and adventuresome people who are numerically quite noticeable in Eastern India. Although Bhojpuri-speakers are proud of their language, they have nevertheless almost entirely given up the cultivation of it in serious literature—songs and verses, and a drama cycle (the *Bidesiyā* drama) being all that they have produced in it in recent years. It must be said that the language was never cultivated properly. Bhojpuri has Banaras as one of its centres, and here learning and scholarship meant only Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit scholarship. There are some poems in Bhojpuri composed by Kabīr (15th century), and recently some communistic propaganda dramas have been written (by Pandit Rāhul Sankrityāyana) and published in it, but Bhojpuri-speakers have not much interest, and are content to employ Hindi in literature and public life, barring those who have never been to school—the working classes, who will compose and sing their Bhojpuri poems with enthusiasm. Bhojpuri has therefore no place among the literary languages of Modern India as yet.

Halbi was regarded as a dialect of Marathi by Sir Gerorge Abraham Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*. Its genitive affix is *-co*, a single form, and this suggested connexion with Marathi with its *-cā*, *-cē*, *-cī*. But the present writer is of opinion, after having been to Bastar State (now Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh State) where the language is spoken, and seen some specimens of folk literature in it, that it is closely akin to the Eastern Speeches, and should be placed in that group. Halbi had some importance as a sort of official language for Bastar State (this importance is being taken away from it, as Hindi is being set up in its place); and it has very little literature (some songs, and a poem on the story of Goddess Durga killing the demon Mahisha, are all that is available in print). Its speakers mostly understand the Chattisgarhi form of Kosali, and also Hindi. It is one of the Indo-Aryan dialects without any literary life worth mentioning.

IV. East Central—a Mediate Group of Languages

The Kosali in its three dialects, *Awadhi* (or *Baiswādī*), *Baghelī* and *Chattisgarhī*, is spread over an extensive area. There was

serious literary cultivation of one of these dialects only, viz. *Awadhī*. But High Hindi has been accepted throughout the entire area as the language of education and literature, particularly during the last century. Bagheli-speakers easily understand *Awadhī*. *Chattisgarhi* is slightly different, but it has now been linked up with the rest through Hindi.

These dialects are generally known as "Eastern Hindi" speeches. But they have some grammatical characteristics which are totally different from Hindi or Hindustani or Western Hindi. Absence of oblique forms, and active construction of the transitive verb in the past tense, are two of the most noteworthy points of difference with Western Hindi.

Four hundred years ago *Awadhī* was a great literary language. *Awadhī* texts are available from the 12th century (e. g. the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, a work employing Old *Awadhī* to teach Sanskrit), and in the 16th century we have a series of distinguished poets in it, the most famous of whom were the Sūfi Malik Muhammad J̄yāsī, and the great Tulasīdāsa, one of the greatest names in Indian literature. Kosali as a speech, it is to be noted, is from a different form of Middle Indo-Aryan, or Prakrit (the *Ardha-Māgadhi*), than Hindi or Western Hindi, the source of which is the Midland Prakrit, the *Śaurasenī*, and its grammar is rather distinct, as has been noted above. But at the present day it is looked upon (quite erroneously though) as a *dialect* of Hindi, and all the literature in Kosali is considered now as forming part of "Hindi Literature". Following this usage, Kosali (or Eastern Hindi) literature is generally treated under "Hindi Literature". Writing of poems in Kosali (*Awadhī* dialect), however, is not yet wholly out of fashion. Occasionally writers compose simple verses, which are offered as "dialect poetry" for Hindi readers.

V. The Central Groups of Speeches : Hindi and East Panjabi, and Rajasthani-Gujarati

In this group we have the great Hindi Speech, the Representative Language of Modern India, and the language which has been declared in India's Parliament as the Official Language of the country, side by side with English. Urdu is the Muslim form of this Hindi speech. How Hindi has come to have its present position of

pre-eminence among its peers—how it became *prima inter pares*, first among equals—is an important matter to discuss in connexion with Modern Indian languages, and this is treated in the next section. We have, among the Central Group of Languages, (a) the Hindi or Western Hindi group of dialects, and (b) Eastern Panjabi, as well as (c) Rajasthani-Gujarati.

The Western Hindi dialects fall into two sub-groups—what may be called the *-au* or *-ō* dialects and the *-ā* dialects, taking note of the ending of a common class of masculine nouns and of the adjectives qualifying them. Braj-bhakha or Braj-bhasha (round about Mathura), Kanauji and Bundeli are *-au* or *-ō* dialects, and Khari-Boli or Standard Hindi in its two literary forms High Hindi and Urdu, “Vernacular Hindi” or the country dialect current in Meerut (Mēraṭh) and Rohilkhand divisions, as well as the Bangaru dialect current to the West of Delhi, are all *-ā* speeches. Thus in Standard Hindi, “my son came” = *mērā bēṭā āyā*, whereas in Braj-bhakha it would be *mērau bēṭau āyau*; in the Awadhi form of “Eastern Hindi” it will be *mōr bēṭā āwā*.

The importance of Standard Hindi, or the Khari-Boli (both as High Hindi and Urdu), is recent—beginning from the middle of the 18th century, and this gained great strength from the second half of the 19th century. Formerly, this speech, originally belonging to the city of Delhi, had no importance in literature throughout the area where it is now dominant: the Kosali or Awadhi dialect on the one hand, and the Braj-bhakha dialect on the other, and certain Rajasthani dialects in Rajasthan, were the literary languages. But now the Standard Hindi (Khari-boli) has become the channel, so to say, of all literary life from Western Panjab to Bihar and from the Himalayas to the Maratha country and Gujarat. This Hindi has virtually become accepted by 140 millions of people, forming what is now known as the *Hindi-Sansār* or “the Hindi World”. But, as we can see, it was originally just a member of a dialect-group current among not more than 45 millions. High Hindi has now become almost the sole inheritor of all the literatures of North India, which for many centuries expressed themselves through Panjabi (partly), the Rajasthani dialects, Malavi, Braj-bhasha and Bundeli, Kumaoni and Garhwali, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Magahi, and even Maithili. And Urdu, the Musalman form of Khari-Boli, also helped to make the position of Standard Hindi secure among Indian languages. High Hindi and Urdu have had different and somewhat independent

literary histories, and the accounts of their literatures are to be taken separately.

Something has been said about Panjabi (i. e. Eastern Panjabi) before. Eastern Panjabi is really a speech belonging to the North-Western Group, but it has been profoundly influenced by the Central Speech. The Early Literature of Panjab, from the middle of the 13th century onwards, shows a strong influence of the Central Language. The Sikh *Ādi-granth* (*Granth-Sāhib* or *Guru-granth*), which is a collection of hymns by the Sikh Gurus or teachers and by others, is not in pure Panjabi—it is largely in some old form of Western Hindi, with occasional Panjabi mixture. Still, Eastern Panjabi has a literary life of its own, and Sikh writers are now particularly active in extending Panjabi literature. In the (Eastern) Panjab State, there is a bitter controversy now going on, as to whether Panjabi should be the State Language, or Hindi, or both ; and whether Panjabi can be permitted to be written and printed in the *Nāgarī* script, side by side with the *Gurmukhi*. As usual, a compromise can only be suggested by adopting both.

Rajasthani (with its numerous dialects—*Mār-wāri*, *Jaipuri* or *Dhūṇḍhārī*, *Mēwāṭī*, *Mālavi* etc.—of which perhaps *Mālavi* might be taken separately) has now accepted the tutelage of High Hindi, but there is an old literature in some of the dialects (a little in *Jaipuri*, and a good deal in early *Marwari*, known also as *Ḍiṅgal*). *Rajasthani* (particularly its *Marwari* form) and *Gujarati*, now recognized as an important independent language, formed a single speech up to the end of the 16th century ; and *Rajasthani*, because of the fact that in early times the *Braj-bhakha* form of Western Hindi was much cultivated by its speakers, ended by accepting High Hindi as related to *Braj-bhakha* as its literary form. The close connexion of most of the *Rajasthan* ruling houses with *Delhi* (during the *Mogul* period particularly) was an additional and an important reason for the orientation of the *Rajasthan* people towards Hindi and Urdu. The Italian scholar, the late L. P. Tessitori of Udine, did conspicuous work in studying the history of the *Rajasthani* language and its literature. The publishing of early *Rajasthani* works, which was commenced by Tessitori from Calcutta during the second decade of this century, has helped to bring about a revival of *Rajasthani* (in its *Marwari* form) ; and attempts are now being made, though without much success, to set up *Rajasthani* as a new literary language beside

Hindi. The study of Rajasthani literature has now become a part of the study of "Hindi Literature". One great Rajasthani writer, the mystic and devotional poetess Mirā Bāī (15th century), has obtained pan-Indian celebrity through Hindi. Rajasthani is rich both in long narrative poems and in ballads, as well as in *Sprüche* poetry—didactic or descriptive distichs of all sorts. It had developed a highly advanced poetic technique of its own, which is still followed as a tradition by living Rajasthani poets.

Gujarati has, by the extent and excellence of its literature, become recognized as a major literary language of India. It was the mother-tongue of Mahatma Gandhi, and its literature has been recognized as one of the most important in modern India. Unlike many other Indian languages, Gujarati (like Oriya on the other side of India) is rather free from dialectal complications.

The Parsis, Zoroastrians descended from the Iranian refugees who of old escaped to India in the 12th century to save themselves from religious persecution in the hands of the Arab and other Muslims, settled in Gujarat, and they now speak Gujarati, with a peculiar pronunciation in which the cerebrals and dentals are changed to alveolars. The Parsis have also contributed to the development of literature in Gujarati.

The Bhili dialects of the Rajasthani-Gujarati group are spoken by the Bhil *Ādivāsis*, originally Austric-speakers like the Kols, who have during the last few hundred years gradually abandoned their non-Aryan language for Rajasthani. There is no literature in it, excepting some folk-songs, and Bhil boys and girls at school learn Hindi.

Although closely connected, and although they are still largely mutually intelligible, Rajasthani and Gujarati developed some characteristic peculiarities. The genitive affix for the noun in the Rajasthani dialects are either *-rō*, *-rā*, *-rī*, or *-kō*, *-kā*, *-kī*; whereas in Gujarati we have *-nō*, *-nū*, *-nī*, *-nā*. Gujarati agrees with Marathi in preserving three genders, as against two in Rajasthani, Hindi, Panjabi etc. The *-s-* future (from Old Indo-Aryan) is preserved in Gujarati, and in some forms of Rajasthani also, as much as in Hindki.

VI. The Northern or Pahari Dialects

These need not detain us, excepting the Eastern Pahari speech, Nepali. Western Pahari dialects are quite large in number, but they

are spoken only by small communities living in the South Himalayan areas, and they have no literature excepting for a few songs and ballads. The Central Pahari dialects, Garhwali and Kumaoni, are only a little more fortunate. Intelligent and well-educated people speaking these dialects are quite numerous, who have taken prominent part in the political and cultural life of India. But barring a small number of songs and other popular poetry, there is no literature in them, the educated people all taking to Hindi. Nepali (Parbatiyā), on the other hand, has an importance as the official language of Nepal; and with the support of the Government of Nepal, it has been forging ahead in creating a modern literature, of novels and short stories, dramas and poems, and translations from Hindi, Bengali and English. But it is not yet important as a literary language. It has got an old chronicle, the *Birsikkā*, dating from the 18th century, and Bhānu Bhakta (early 19th century), who wrote the Nepali *Rāmāyaṇa*, is its only classic writer. A collection of early Nepali songs and ballads (the language has no specimens older than 1700 A. D., it would appear) is a desideratum for Nepali. In its literary life, Nepali is a reflex of High Hindi.

The other Pahari dialects, particularly Garhwali and Kumaoni, might have profited by the example of Nepali, but these had no chance as there was no state patronage, and there was the slow and unobstructed infiltration of Hindi, following a constant stream of settlers from the plains into the West and Central Pahari tracts of the Himalayas.

Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic group of Aryan, and quite early it came within the fold of Sanskrit as its inspirer. Now Persian and Urdu have taken the place of Sanskrit. Kashmiri-speakers easily take to Urdu and Hindi. The oldest writer of Kashmiri, whose works are available, was the Śaiva mystic poetess Lallā, or Lāl Ded (13th century), whose poems on faith in Śiva as the Supreme God and on Yoga practices, as well as moral distichs are still popular among all sections of Kashmiris. A number of Hindu writers produced considerable poems on themes from Hindu mythology and legend. These show great literary merit, though they frankly follow Sanskrit models. Such poems have been edited by the late Sir George Abraham Grierson. Modern Kashmiri has abandoned its old Indian alphabet, the Śāradā character, the Kashmiri and North-western equivalent of the Nagari, for the Perso-Arabic script. In its

pronunciation, Kashmiri is a difficult language, as the result of certain complicated vowel changes which are of recent origin. There is not much literature in prose available. Poetry is the chief medium through which the Kashmiri mind expresses itself (apart from the decorative arts) ; and some of the Kashmiri poems are charming. One volume at least of selections from Modern Kashmiri poems has been published, the text in Roman Kashmiri, and English translation given opposite (by Principai Jia Lal Kaul of Srinagar).

(7) The Present Linguistic Position : the Place of Hindi

The linguistic situation in India briefly is this. There are the 15 recognized literary languages, High Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya, Assamese, Panjabi, Urdu and Kashmiri, besides Sindhi and Nepali, and Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam in the Dravidian South, with a slight attempt on the part of Maithili, Rajasthani (Marwari) and Konkani to be given recognition as independent literary languages. There is also some movement for Bhojpuri and Chattisgarhi ; and, besides, Sanskrit has been recognized as one of the National Languages of India, though nobody speaks it at home. And linking up most of the Aryan languages of India as a common communication speech is some spoken form or other of the great Hindi speech, the colloquial basis of both High Hindi and Urdu, the speech variously named as Hindi, Hindustani (or Hindusthani), and *Kharī-Bōlī*. The nucleus of a great linguistic unity is presented by this speech, more than by any other : always excepting, of course, Sanskrit, as furnishing the basis of Indian culture and linguistic and even political unity. With millions, who are not at all speakers of it at home, this Hindi speech has become (due to a large extent, no doubt, to the propaganda of the Indian National Congress) a symbol of Indian National Unity, to which even considerable groups in the Dravidian South would appear to be willing to pay homage.

The Dravidian South has always followed the lead of the North in all pan-Indian matters. From very ancient times the Aryan language has been admitted and accepted in the South. Sanskrit has always been there with the spread of the composite Aryan-non-Aryan culture of the North, and with the advent of the

Hindu faith in the South—from at least six to seven hundred years before Christ. Asoka's Prakrit and the Prakrit of the Ikṣvāku Kings of the Telugu land were used as official languages in Dravidian India. Sanskrit and Prakrit words are a large and an inalienable element in all the advanced Dravidian speeches. In spirit, again, the Aryan speech of North India as a whole has approximated largely to the spirit of Dravidian, as large masses of Dravidian (as much as other non-Aryan) speakers in North India have adopted the Aryan language and so have changed its syntax, modified its phonology and accidence, and given it new words. There is not much hardship for a Dravidian-speaker in acquiring a North Indian Aryan language like Hindi or Marathi. The Sanskrit vocabulary of Hindi, Bengali, Marathi or Gujarati is largely shared by all the four South Indian languages. The acceptance of Sanskrit as the sacred and culture language of Hindudom is already a fact in South India. And the introduction of Sanskritized Hindi, using the Nagari or Devanagari script (which is now the established pan-Indian script for Sanskrit), as the inter-provincial and pan-Indian language, was supported as if it was a continuation of Sanskrit in the South. But there is considerable difficulty (and even opposition) in the way of a free and spontaneous acceptance of Hindi in place of Sanskrit in considerable portions of the non-Hindi areas.

Moreover, the backward Dravidian tribes in Central and Eastern India (Gonds, Kandhs, Oraons, Maltos) are so situated that they must know some Aryan language. For the speakers of the backward Austric (Kol and Mon-Khmer) and Sino-Tibetan speeches, there is equally the great necessity to know some Aryan language—Bihari or Hindi, Nepali or Bengali or Assamese.

The first great force behind Hindi as the language which is spreading everywhere in India is the force of numbers—over 72% of the people of India speak Aryan Languages, and 49.2% out of this 72% have now accepted either High Hindi or Urdu as their language of education, literature and public life, although they may be speaking other languages at home. Of the 140 millions who are regarded as "Hindi speakers", really 40 to 50 millions only are linguistically within the Hindi orbit, and the remaining 100 or 90 millions, speak other languages at home, but are anxious to persuade themselves that their home-languages are just "dialects of Hindi". People speaking or using Hindi when they deal with others

not belonging to their own group have spread all over India—particularly Panjabis, Rajasthanis and Eastern U. P. and Bihar people. As soldiers, North Indian Hindus (Rajputs, Brahmans, and other castes, and Sikhs) and Muslims dominate the Indian Army. As skilled Artisans and Mechanists, Panjabis (Sikhs) are found everywhere. The Marwari and the Gujarati Merchants control the trade and the industry of the greater part of India. The Labourers from Central and Eastern Uttar Pradesh and from Bihar are found in large numbers in Bombay and Western India, as much as in Calcutta and Bengal. Wandering Mendicants—*Sādhus* from North India, particularly Panjab and U. P. and Bihar, are in the habit of going to most of the places of pilgrimage scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. All these carry with them Hindi or Hindustani of some sort, and seek to bring to people who speak Marathi or Gujarati, Bengali or Oriya or Assamese, Telugu or Malayalam, the Hindi language, but without much success, except in the pilgrim centres. And on the wake of this has now come the Cinema. There are films in Bengali, in Telugu, in Tamil, and recently in Panjabi, in Oriya and in Assamese, but the number of Hindi or Hindustani films is larger than in any other language in India, and they are shown in all the towns of India, those of the Dravidian South included. In general, it is getting to be the common idea that with your own State language, you are confined only to your state ; while with Hindi or Hindustani, you can be understood when you have to do some travelling, particularly in North India.

Some slight religio-cultural influence is there with Hindi. Some poets of Hindi, or rather, of North Indian languages and dialects which have now come under the umbrage of Modern Hindi, like Braj-bhakha, Rajasthani and Awadhi (Kosali), are acknowledged to be great poets for the whole of India, and there is a desire to read them in the original—howsoever limited that desire may be. Thus, Kabīr, Tulasīdāsa, Mīrā Bāī and Sūrādāsa as great “Hindi” poets are venerated outside the Hindi area also, among Hindus. With the Muslims, Urdu has become the “Islamic language” *par excellence*—the most extensive literature of Muslim inspiration available in Urdu making it appear very desirable for study among Muslims of other areas. In Music, i. e. Classical North Indian music, composers like Gopāla Nāyaka, Amīr Khusrau, Baijū Bāwrā, the great Tānasēna and his group, from the 14th century onwards, and other song-writers and makers

of melody in later times used Hindi ; the Hindi speech (in the Braj-*bhākhā* dialect particularly, as used by Tānasēna) has an important place, and that is why the Hindi spirit dominates the classical music of the whole of North India.

The pre-eminence of Hindi over such a wide area, largely as a communication speech and partly as a literary and culture language, is not accidental, but it is the result of a long history. The bases of Hindu (i. e. mixed Austric-Mongoloid-Dravidian-Aryan) culture were laid in the tract known as the *Madhya-dēśa* (i. e. the Midland) early in the first millennium B. C., and this tract comprised the present East Panjab and Western U. P., and it formed the centre or heart of Aryandom as well. The speech of this area quite early became the vehicle of Hindu culture. Being the language of the Midland, it appears to have been more easily understood by Aryan-speakers of the outlying tracts. In successive ages, this speech obtained a wide currency, both as a culture language and as a communication speech. Classical Sanskrit was really the spoken language, the popular (*Laukika*) speech of the North-Western and Northern Panjab (and probably also current in Eastern Panjab and the Upper Gangetic Doab) in the time of Pāṇini (5th century B. C). It was also current in the Brahman schools of the time everywhere in North India. But in the Midland, it was specially cultivated too. Most of the early literature of Sanskrit was redacted or composed in this Midland tract. The Veda books were compiled, probably in the 10th century B. C., in this area ; the *Purāṇas* as store-houses of ancient legend and history began to be collected here also. Like the *Lingua toscana in bocca romana* (the language of Tuscany in Roman mouth), the speech of the Panjab Aryans latterly became well-established as the speech of pan-Indian Hindudom, for the first time here in the Midland. Midland influences gave to Sanskrit its all-India character. After Sanskrit came Pali, round about the time of Christ. Pali is the language favoured by the Hinayāna Buddhists ; and it was based, not on the speech of Magadha or Bihar, as it has been erroneously supposed, but on an old form of Śaurasēnī, the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan speech of the Midland. During the early centuries of the Christian era, this Śaurasēnī Prakrit of the Midland was looked upon as the most elegant form of Middle Indo-Aryan speech. Then, after 600 A. D., right down to the establishment of Turki rule in North India in the 13th

century, a later form of this Midland speech, the Saurasēnī Apabhraṃśa, was the great literary vernacular of Aryan India, from the Maratha country and Sindh to Nepal and Bengal. It was the language of the poets in the Rajput courts of the period, the local vernaculars not having taken their rise then. The mantle of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa then fell on Braj-bhākhā ; this Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa also influenced very deeply the language of Rajasthan and Gujarat. After this, the language of Delhi slowly came to the front. Upon the speech of Delhi there were some Panjab influences ; and at first a mixed Braj-bhākhā and Delhi speech (the Khaṛī-Bōlī) we find in the writings of Kabīr (15th century). Then gradually in the 18th century, the Delhi speech, the basis of the present-day Hindustani or Hindi-Urdu, came to be established and generally accepted, first among the Muslims of Delhi. With Kabīr, as a disciple of Rāmānanda, the tradition of a popular religious and mystic poetry became fully established in North India ; and wandering *Sādhus* or mendicants of different schools, whether of the pure Bhakti school or of the eclectic Sant school (like Kabīr himself) which also took up elements from the Islamic Sufi faith, wrote their hymns and distichs in a composite dialect based on the Braj-bhākha of Mathura and Brindaban, the Khaṛī-Bōlī of Delhi as it was then developing, and the Kosali of Oudh, with occasional forms and words from other speeches. This *Sādhu* speech (*Sādhukkaṛ-Bōlī*) also helped to spread the Midland speech, and prepared the way for the speech of Delhi as a sort of *Shāhi Zabān* (like King's English) in North India, to be generally understood and adopted in ordinary contacts among the upper classes—officials, merchants and others, throughout North India, from Panjab to Bihar and even Bengal.

Muslim and a few Hindu military adventurers from North India, taking with them dialects of Western Hindi and Panjabi, went to the Deccan from the 14th century, and there they established important Muslim states—the Bahmani empire (1347-1526), and then on the ruins of it the five Muslim Kingdoms of Bijapur, Golconda, Berar, Bidar and Ahmadnagar, which were all gradually conquered by the Moguls in the 17th century. These kingdoms had a Muslim aristocracy from North India, speaking and using their Western Hindi and Panjabi dialects among their Maratha, Kannadiga and Telugu subjects. Their North Indian dialects evolved a literary form, a language which came to be known as *Dakhani*, *Dakhni*, or *Dakni*, or "the Speech of the South", which in its general

form was like some archaic Western Hindi dialect much influenced by Panjabi. From the 15th century the Dakhni dialect developed a literature. Written in the Persian character and cultivated mostly by Muslim writers, it gradually gave up its Hindi affiliations, and became a speech of Muslim inspiration. Its Persian script gave it scope for unlimited absorption of Perso-Arabic words. At first its vocabulary was largely Indian, i. e. pure Hindi and Sanskrit. But it showed the way to the North Indian Muslims from Delhi, in the 17th century, how the language could be fully "Islamized" in vocabulary and idiom when it once took up an Islamic script. In the early part of the 18th century, North Indian Hindi of Delhi developed its Urdu or Muslim form directly under Dakhni inspiration. This became very soon the language of the Muslim c'elite and of court circles in Delhi and North Indian towns, and under their auspices, this Urdu form of Hindi or Hindustani also spread, and Urdu literature began to develop. The position of the Midland speech was enhanced or buttressed in this novel way in the late 18th and early 19th centuries by the prestige of the Mogul Court of Delhi.

The spread of the Rajasthani and Upper Indian (Panjab and Western U. P.) business-men as a most enterprising group of people all over Eastern U. P., Bihar and Bengal during the last few centuries—particularly during Mogul rule—was as a matter of fact a very potent reason for the spread of the Delhi speech and Western Hindi generally in the *bazars* of Panjab, U. P., and Bihar cities, and in extending the horizon of Hindi (Khaṛī-bōli) as the elegant speech to be employed by men of substance and of culture in towns.

In Calcutta, towards the end of the 18th century, the English realized the value of this great North Indian speech, which, in both of its forms Hindi and Urdu, was already established in Calcutta and Murshidabad and Dacca and other places in Bengal through the presence of Muslim noblemen, Panjabi and Rajasthani (Hindu or Jain) merchants and bankers, Bihari soldiers and working classes and others. To teach Indian languages to young Englishmen who came to administer the country during the East India Company's rule, the College of Fort William was opened in Calcutta in 1799, and provision for teaching this North Indian language in its two forms was made. Books were encouraged to be written in both forms : and in this way, a great impetus was given to Hindi or Hindustani literature, both as High Hindi and Urdu, in Calcutta, from 1800.

Through the English administration, Urdu, as a legacy of the last years of the Mogul rule, was established as the language of the law courts throughout the Panjab (after it was conquered in 1848) and United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) and Bihar. In the English Schools which were opened in these areas, leading up to the Universities when they were established in 1857 in Calcutta and Bombay and Madras, and to professional or technical institutions for legal, engineering and medical studies, as well as in the British Indian Army, it was the Urdu form of Hindustani which was first established : and Hindi came in much later. Most educated people with some English education, right down to the beginning of the 20th century, in Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh and Panjab, were educated in Urdu and not in Hindi. Side by side, a few Hindus began to cultivate the native or Sanskritized form of the language, particularly from the last two decades of the 19th century. Thus the same single speech became split up into two, during the 18th-19th centuries particularly. But between them, they only strengthened the position of the basic Midland Speech, Hindustani, throughout the whole of Aryan India, inspite of their mutual antagonism. And now formally, the native Indian form of this Midland language, Sanskritic Hindi, i. e. Hindi leaning on Sanskrit and not on Arabic and Persian for its words of higher culture, and written not in the foreign Perso-Arabic character but in the native Indian Nagari, has been declared by the Indian Parliament to be the Official Language (side by side with English) of the Union of India.

No other language can aspire to the position obtained by Hindi. Bengali is spoken by the largest number of people as their *home language* (see p. 32), and Modern Bengali literature has been declared by competent foreigners to be of high cultural import. But Bengali cannot claim to become the Official Language of India for several reasons. First of all, there is its phonetic system which makes Bengali, simple though its sounds are, and simpler still its grammar, one of the most difficult languages to speak 'with the proper accent'. Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit (there is a large number of Sanskrit words in it, which forms one of its attractions) stands by itself, like the old English tradition in pronouncing Latin. It is very different from the pan-Indian norm, and this makes Bengali difficult of comprehension in spite of all its Sanskrit vocables. Then, Bengali has two styles in its printed literature, the Standard Literary (*Sādhū-bhāṣā*) and the

Standard Colloquial (*Calit-bhāṣā*), which makes it none the simpler. Standard Hindi is simple in its phonetics and easy in its phonology, and in grammar and style it is a single speech.

The above are all the points that can be said in favour of Hindi as the most suitable pan-Indian language of wide comprehension. But there is the other side of the shield too, both inherently in the Hindi-Hindustani language itself and in the rapidly changing all-India background with regard to an "Official Language" and a "National Language" ; and these and other factors are putting a brake on the enthusiasm for Hindi (which, naturally enough, is most noticeable among those who have accepted Hindi as their language of public life, education and literature), and making it more difficult for a general all-India acceptance of Hindi.

If, apart from the question of dialectal variations, this great speech of North India had unfortunately not been split up during the last three hundred years into two mutually antagonistic languages by virtue of difference in script and difference in higher vocabulary, the one standing for the ideals of Hindu India—the world of Sanskrit, and the other for the ideals of the Islamic or Perso-Arabic world outside, there would not have been a recent history of a bitter language conflict in India which is not yet wholly over. Muslim weightage in Indian life and politics, or a just and equitable place for all communities :—this was the crux of the political situation, which, with considerable help from outside, resulted in division of India into India and Pakistan. The Muslims of North India, inspite of the fact that very largely they are of native Hindu origin, inherited the *Conquistador* mentality of the Arabs of the 8th century, the Turks of the 11th-13th centuries, the Pathans and the Moguls of the 16th-17th centuries : and when in the 18th and 19th centuries, political power slipped through the fingers of a decadent Mogul house, the North Indian Muslims found a means of escape in the hot-house garden of a newly created Urdu literature. This Urdu language and the Urdu literature, with its Persian script and its highly Persianized vocabulary cutting off the language from the soil—from the masses (mostly Hindu)—and seeking inspiration from Persian literature and Islamic faith and culture, was a very necessary cultural and spiritual compensation for the loss of political domination for North Indian Muslims, when the Marathas, the English and the Sikhs came to the forefront. Some Hindus, well-read in Persian and connected with the Mogul

court and with the Mogul administration, also joined the Muslim élite (which was mostly of recent foreign origin in the 18th century) in extending Urdu literature, from 1750 onwards. But already in the 18th century, some Muslim writers of Hindi, reading Hindi as the most natural form of the speech of North India, were not in favour of this Urdu as new-fangled literary speech, and they recorded protests in favour of Hindi with its native Indian vocabulary and script.

For over two decades the Indian National Congress under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi sought to placate the feelings of the Muslim minority in North India by recommending to the people of India the adoption of Hindi or Hindustani in both scripts and with a double set of words, Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic, as the National Language of India. But for 4/5ths of India, Persianized Urdu is unintelligible, while the Sanskrit words of Hindi are intelligible even in the Dravidian South. The Persian script of Urdu as an additional script was felt to be worse than useless, as an unnecessary and vexatious burden. The argument for a Sanskritized Hindi in the Indian character—the Nagari—was irresistible, and the large Hindu support that was behind it won the day finally—both in the Parliament and outside (after India won her freedom and had a Parliament following a Constituent Assembly). Urdu has been recognized as the language of those Muslims of North India who would choose to study it as their mother-tongue or as a cultural language, but all are encouraged to learn Hindi in the Nagari character; and it is already being made compulsory in schools in many parts of India outside the Hindi area as well. North Indian Muslims are also learning the Nagari character as that of the “National Language” of the country.

There are in the world “building” languages, and there are “borrowing” languages. Languages like Chinese, German, Russian, Arabic (besides, of course, ancient speeches like Sanskrit and Greek), when in want of new words, seek to create them with available roots, words and terminations of the language itself, without borrowing words from another language. Languages like English and Japanese, and Persian and Turkish till lately, would, whenever in need of a new word, go to some other language and take a word from it or create words with the help of elements from that other language, rather than from itself. For certain modern languages, the historic connexion with the older

forms of them has never been lost sight of. When these become borrowing languages, the most natural thing for them is to borrow words from their older forms—from the mother-languages, so to say. Thus for the Neo-Latin Languages of to-day like Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian etc., the most natural thing is to borrow words from Latin, modifying them according to such habits of pronunciation and orthography as have developed in those Neo-Latin languages. So for the Aryan languages of India derived from Sanskrit, the easiest and most natural thing has been to borrow words, as and when necessary, from Sanskrit. This is what the Hindi dialects, Bengali, Marathi and the rest have been doing ever since their origin a thousand years ago. The Dravidian languages of the South, although belonging to a different family originally, have also similarly been borrowing from Sanskrit, as the great religious and cultural language of India for the last 3000 years. We cannot think of Modern Indian Languages without this Sanskrit element. This is the most precious link, binding not only the different provincial languages with each other, but also with the *fons* and *origo* of Indian culture. It also links India with Indo-European-speaking Europe.

The framers of Urdu, who were a small group of Muslim élite in Delhi, mostly of foreign origin, had no special love for Sanskrit, the value of which they did not understand ; and they deliberately created a literary style which goes at every step with the begging bowl to the doors of Arabia and Persia. In many parts of India outside the Hindi area, where Urdu is not used even by the Muslims, there has been no splitting up of the provincial languages by vocabulary—much less by script—into a Muslim form of the language as differentiated from a Hindu form. In East Bengal, the Pakistani spirit of separatism is seeking to create a stronger “Musalmani Bengali”, as opposed to the common language used by both Hindus and Muslims. A small literature of Muslim inspiration, with, naturally, a larger number of Perso-Arabic vocables, was there, but this did not disrupt the unity of the Bengali language so far. In East Pakistan, at the present day, virtually the same language is current as in West Bengal—there is absolute identity of speech, for example between the Dacca Radio and the Calcutta Radio.

So far, the Indian Parliament, following the Constituent Assembly, which prepared the Constitution, has given full right

to Muslims using Urdu to write and develop their speech as they like ; only Persianized Urdu in the Perso-Arabic script will not be imposed upon others. But Hindi in the Nagari script must be learnt by all.

To what extent can Hindi, as recommended by the Constituent Assembly and then tacitly adopted in the Constitution by the Indian Parliament, become an every-day language ? The reaction to this proposal from speakers of other languages is still to be seen. The ideal was to make Hindi take the place of English in India—in the first instance, as the language of administration throughout the country (this was to be done, if possible, within 15 years from 1950, as the Parliament had suggested) ; and, then, if possible, in education, not only in the Hindi area, but also in other linguistic areas. Compulsory Hindi as encroaching upon the rights of the Provincial Languages has already been looked upon with mixed feelings ; in some places, with pronounced hostility even. It has been demanded that Compulsory Hindi for non-Hindi areas should go hand in hand with compulsory some other language of the Indian Union for the Hindi-speaking or Hindi-using peoples. There should be *quid pro quo*, as otherwise it would give an unnecessary privilege to Hindi-users or speakers, when millions of people speak other languages different from Hindi. Then, speakers of Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya, Assamese, Telugu, Tamil etc., will never agree to the introduction of Hindi as the main language of education in their respective areas. The great points of attraction for Hindi to non-Hindi peoples, particularly Hindus, are (i) the Sanskrit vocabulary of Hindi which they can understand, and (ii) the Nagari script of Hindi, which is only a different form, so to say, of the other Modern Indian scripts, Bengali, Oriya, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Grantha, and Malayalam. But a very serious handicap for Kharī-bōlī Hindi (apart from other ones) is that it is not yet a language with a sufficiently important modern literature, and there is hardly any scientific literature in it, although with feverish haste some scholars and societies are seeking to create on the basis of Sanskrit a most extensive scientific vocabulary for Hindi (and incidentally for other Indian languages, if these would take them).

The comparatively undeveloped character of Hindi, together with the presence of the English language in India, is the

greatest obstacle in the acceptance of Hindi. Indians other than those who speak or use Hindi do not usually consider Hindi to be deserving of preference before their own mother-tongues, and Hindi is not yet for them a language of high culture, or of a higher culture than that available through their own languages. As a language of science and of the arts (i. e. humanistic studies), and as the greatest vehicle of World Culture, English has a position which Hindi cannot aspire to have, *vis-à-vis* other Indian languages, for quite a long time. In point of numbers using or speaking it, Hindi is of course the third great language of the world. We have first of all Northern Chinese (350 millions, but used as official language among 650 millions), and then English (spoken by 200 millions, with many more millions using it as the language of education and culture and administration—some 600 millions more, in the former British empire and the present-day Commonwealth, are within the orbit of the English language). Next comes Hindi or Hindustani, which is used by 140 to 150 millions : besides, it is the inter-provincial language *in esse* in Aryan India, and also *in posse* for the whole of India, as its supporters expect it to be. After Northern Chinese, English and Hindi, come Spanish (115 millions), Russian (110 millions), German (90 millions), Japanese (85 millions), Indonesian or Malay (70 to 75 millions), and Bengali (67 to 70 millions). Then we have French and Arabic (between 50 to 60 millions each). Indonesian (Malay) has been adopted as the National Language of over 70 millions of Indonesians, but it is the home-language of a very small number of Malay-speakers only. This numerical superiority ought to find for Hindi a place beside English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese in an international organization like the UNO. But still, Indians, particularly those who have obtained higher education through the English language, realize that the mental and spiritual pabulum which they can get so easily from English is not to be found through Hindi. English is now a great heritage for the whole of Humanity, and many Indians will be exceedingly unwilling to forego it. English is the language of the highest intellectual and cultural importance for all Indians, and not even the staunchest supporters of Hindi would suggest that Hindi could take the place of English in all the domains of life in India within any appreciable number of decades. English satisfies the intellectual and even spiritual

hunger of people who wish to know the best that has been thought and said and done in the world, and no modern Indian language can approach English in this. Hence many people, who have some knowledge and experience of what is now happening in the world, and who are for the Integration of a Free India with the rest of the world, sincerely think that a hasty attempt to place Hindi where English now is will be suicidal for the intellectual and cultural and even economic and political advancement of India. As a neutral language, English alone can hold the balance evenly among all the various modern languages of India, Hindi included, without special favour or disfavour to any particular linguistic group.

As things stand, the narrowly nationalistic views (frequently expressed with a sort of naïve patriotic uncton) of many of the advocates of Hindi notwithstanding, the position that is now tacitly accepted in India is this : Hindi (with Sanskrit, or Sanskrit alone) for formal and "decorative" purposes, and English for administration and business, for higher education, and, above all for inter-provincial purposes. All Indian nationals in the higher stages of education must study English. For an indefinite number of decades at least, the inter-provincial and inter-university affairs in India, as well as the Central Administration, can only be carried on entirely, or very largely, through English. The provincial administrations, the universities, and the colleges may be, at least for some time to come, bi-lingual, or polyglot, in English and in the provincial or local languages. An Education Commission appointed by the Government of India recommended for schools what is known as the Three-Language Formula—(1) Mother-tongue, (2) English, and (3) Hindi ; and where the mother-tongue is Hindi, the third language was to be some other *Modern Language* of the Indian Union, whether Bengali or Marathi, Gujarati or Telugu, Assamese or Malayalam. The position of Urdu, Panjabi etc. *vis-à-vis* Hindi was not clarified. Non-Hindi states are following this, but this is not being implemented at all in the Hindi-using states, which are thus having in schools only 2 languages (English and Hindi), and sometimes 3 (with Sanskrit added), whereas the non-Hindi-speaking boys and girls are doing all the 3, plus frequently a classical language in addition. The majority report of the Official Language Commission (1956) deliberately went out of its way to declare that a compulsory third language was not required for Hindi-using areas. It was naïvely

suggested that this arrangement would gladly be accepted by all non-Hindi-speaking peoples in the Indian Union.

But this suggestion or recommendation is not at all proving to be generally acceptable. Those who speak Hindi or use it in the place of their mother-tongue are unfortunately not showing the least desire to learn any other Modern Indian language. But Compulsory Hindi is being pressed upon others with strong financial support from the Central Government. This is having its inevitable reaction. It is being realized that this arrangement, with Hindi as the sole language (or as the only alternative language to English) in the Public Services, will give permanently some special privileges to Hindi-using peoples, and bring in perpetually certain inherent disabilities for non-Hindi speakers—and only because they have some other language than Hindi as their mother-tongue or as its accepted substitute. Many are questioning the cultural and intellectual value of Hindi when compared with English or Sanskrit, and would prefer to have the Three-Language Formula adopted as (1) Mother-tongue, (2) English, and (3) Sanskrit (or some other classical language, including Old Tamil, or some other Modern Language like French or German), and not as Mother-tongue, English and Hindi. This was the position preferred as their first recommendation by the members of the Government of India Sanskrit Commission in their unanimous Report (see below).

A simplified Sanskrit has been proposed and urged upon as the most suitable and most universally acceptable National Language for India. Eminent scientists like Professor C. V. Raman and the late Professor K. S. Krishnan, and a humanist like Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, and a whole mass of educationists from all parts of India, have strongly supported the case of Sanskrit and English as the two languages to be studied by the average run of students in schools; and some of them have even advocated Sanskrit as the only National or All-India Language. Some European lovers of Sanskrit, like Dr. F. W. Thomas of Oxford, advocated only Sanskrit for Modern India. Simple Sanskrit as a matter of fact is generally followed without much difficulty, by people who had a few years of Sanskrit at school, in considerable parts of both Aryan and Dravidian India, even in public speeches, e. g. those delivered in public squares by the Arya-Samaj and other preachers in the towns of North

India as well as South India. But many Hindus of the present age, particularly among the *intelligentsia*, who have never read it or are not within the atmosphere of Sanskrit, fight shy of Sanskrit as a dead and a difficult language. Muslims would find it still more difficult, and they would be uncomfortable from a fear of Hindu revivalism through Sanskrit, which would modify or jeopardize their Islamic culture in India. Until very recently, many Muslims in Bengal, in Orissa, and in South India would study Sanskrit at school as a matter of course ; but that situation has now changed. Then, Sanskrit is not an easy language either. Simplification of its grammar will perhaps destroy it. Its feasibility, too, as a speech for the masses, may be questioned. So the ideal of Sanskrit as the all-inclusive National Language of India has not been seriously considered, at least by large numbers of people, although there is a general consensus of opinion that Sanskrit (or some other classical language) should be made a compulsory subject of study in the high school, and should—of course optionally—be used in all formal and ceremonial occasions.

The suggestion that Hindi should be the only Official or National Language of India to replace English after 15 years from Independence was formally adopted in the Constitution of India, with the majority of one vote only, by the Congress-nominated Constituent Assembly, and was then accepted by the Elected Parliament. It was never adopted unanimously with a large majority, or spontaneously without much whipping and canvassing. When the question was discussed in the Constituent Assembly during 1950, there was a controversy started, which after a lull upto the end of 1957, has been revived with much greater vigour. The non-Hindi-speaking Members of the Assembly, excepting for a number of ardent Congress members, were generally against Hindi, as they felt—and they had considerable justification to feel like that—that it would give a special position of privilege to its native speakers in the Indian scene, and at the same time Hindi would be useless for the intellectual advancement of India and for India's integration with the rest of the civilized world. They were for retaining English as the All-India Language of higher education and administration. The Hindi-speakers, supported by some idealists from the other linguistic areas, who were inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, were

strongly in favour of Hindi with some kind of adjustment with Urdu. A small group, led by the late Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra from Santipur and Maulvi Naziruddin Khan from Burdwan in Bengal, were for Sanskrit as the National Language. As said before, it was by a majority of one vote only that the decision in favour of Hindi won in a house of about 150. After this, the protagonists of Hindi made it appear that Hindi was already established as the Official and National Language of India. Although protests were heard from non-Hindi areas, the matter was not discussed or thrashed out fully by the people. The Constitution laid down that English was to be replaced by Hindi after 1965 ; and to advise the Central Government how this was to be done, an Official Language Commission with 21 members was appointed by the Government of India in June 1955. This was presided over by the late B. G. Kher, a veteran Congressman, who was Chief Minister of Bombay and India's Representative in the United Kingdom. The Commission submitted its Report in August 1956, recommending the ultimate re-placement of English by Hindi and proposing various ways and means for this (these were, some of them, too drastic, and not at all acceptable to non-Hindi-speaking citizens of India). But there were two Notes of Dissent in the Official Language Commission's Report, which may be called two Minority Reports which sought to point out the difficulties in the way of implementing these recommendations ; and these Dissent Notes advised the continuance of English until such time as Hindi would be in a position to take up the place of English, both by becoming a first class medium of expression (which it was not as yet), and by securing the willing homage of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples everywhere who were still opposed to it (the Notes of Dissent were from Dr. P. Subbarayan and Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji : see 'Report of the Official Language Commission', Government of India Publications Division, Delhi, 1957). The publication of this Report, with the proposals made by the Majority Members and the Dissenting Notes, has opened the question once again, and a bitter controversy has started—particularly from the South (especially the Tamil country) and from West Bengal. The dangers of Linguism, which are now becoming so painfully patent, and generally admitted, were pointed out in these Notes of Dissent ; and Hindi Linguism brought this in

as a major factor in the domain of Indian Politics. The West Bengal Assembly, in its resolution unanimously adopted by both the Government (Congress) Party and the Oppositionists on 27 March 1958, has roundly declared that the proposals of the Official Language Commission were not acceptable to the people of West Bengal, and recommended the continuance at the Centre of English until Hindi and other National Languages of India were in a position to replace English, and that in the affairs of the West Bengal State, Bengali and English were to be used. The West Bengal Legislature Upper House (Council or Senate) unanimously adopted the same resolution on 2 July 1958. There have been many conferences supporting the retention of English. Further, a Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government of India in October 1956 to enquire into the state of Sanskrit studies in India and to recommend ways and means for its development, including the preservation of the best elements in the traditional system of Sanskrit studies, came out with its Report in November 1957; and in this Report, which gave the unanimous opinion of its 8 members, as the first preference of the Commission, it was recommended that Sanskrit (or an equivalent classical language) was to be one of the 3 languages to be studied all over India in the Secondary Stages (in addition to the Mother-tongue and English), and that Hindi could come later, in the college stage, for a few students who might try for all-India Services, if Compulsory Hindi was still there. The Commission declared that in any adjustment with Hindi, in this Three Language Formula, Sanskrit and Hindi must never be alternatives to each other. Otherwise Hindi would kill off Sanskrit from Indian education, and that would be a cultural disaster. The Sanskrit Commission also recommended the adoption of Sanskrit as the Third Official Language of India beside English and Hindi, to be used mainly for formal and ceremonial occasions.

All this has rather damped the ardour of Hindi enthusiasts, and has brought in a sobering effect on an intransigent attitude which was developing, viz. the attitude in support of "Hindi at all costs". The Central Government is also realizing the need for a policy of slow progress, evolutionary rather than revolutionary, in this matter. There is now (1961) something of a stalemate in the matter of replacement of English by Hindi. The arguments in favour of retaining the *status quo* will be found in

the two Notes of Dissent in the Official Language Commission's Report (August 1957, Government of India Publications Division); and in pronouncements made from time to time by prominent supporters of English, like Sri C. Rajagopalachari, former Governor of Bengal and Viceroy of India and for long years an active propagandist for Hindi in Madras Presidency. And in the Parliament of India, it has been declared recently that English is to continue indefinitely as the Official Language for all India, side by side with Hindi; and fresh legislation in this regard is in the offing.

Out of this attempt to make Hindi take the place of English throughout the whole of India, has started another movement in the non-Hindi States, which is getting stronger and stronger, and which may, in the long run, jeopardize the Unity of India. It is—emulating the Hindi-using States—to make the local regional or state languages, like Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Assamese, exclusively used for all state purposes, up to the highest grades both in education and administration. Behind this there is a fear and dislike of Hindi; and local patriotism demands that English must give way, not to Hindi, but to the local languages. No one seems seriously to think how Indian cultural and political unity will be preserved without the two great basic links like Sanskrit and English; and this widely prevalent movement for the local languages is a defensive movement against the dangers of the imposition of Hindi, as non-Hindi people feel it; and their defense takes frequently the form of an intolerant offensive and aggression, against all and sundry.

But it can be only hoped that the present phase of this *Linguism* or Linguistic Chauvinism and Exclusiveness, which is felt in responsible quarters as a new and a terrible danger in India, will subside, and the great good sense of the Indian people as representing a Single Cultural Unit will prevail. Without pressing the claims of Hindi, but leaving to the non-Hindi States the teaching and acceptance of Hindi, and giving fullest liberty in the matter of the use of one's mother-tongue in all the States of India, and retaining English and Sanskrit (or another classical language) in certain all-India contexts, in science and education, in administration and the public services, in industry and commerce, and in matters of higher culture, the cultural and the political Unity of India, which is based in the first instance on

Sanskrit and which has been strengthened by English, can be retained unimpaired, and even further strengthened, to meet the needs of a Free India.

THE QUESTION OF SCRIPT IN INDIA

Leaving aside the scripts of foreign origin, e. g. the Perso-Arabic and the Roman or Latin, India now lacks unity of script. There are some seven or eight distinct scripts now current in India, which, one must hasten to add, are all of native Indian origin, all based on the same principles, and all forming but diverse styles of the same single system of writing. These are Nagari (or Deva-nagari), Bengali-Assamese, Oriya, Gurmukhi, Telugu-Kannada, Tamil-Grantha, and Malayalam. All of these, as well as Maithili and a few more like the Kaithi and Gujarati which are cursive forms of Nagari, have been cast in type. Some of them are special alphabets. Grantha is the full alphabet used in the Tamil-land for writing (and printing) Sanskrit (its place was gradually being taken over by the Nagari from North India, but in recent years there seems to be a revival of the Grantha for Sanskrit, if only side by side with the Nagari). Maithili is now very little used, the Nagari script being now more commonly employed when the language is printed. Gurmukhi is confined to the Sikhs when they write or print anything in Panjabi: the Hindus prefer to write Panjabi in the Nagari, and the Muslims always use the Perso-Arabic for the same language. Besides, there is the Gujarati alphabet, and the Kaithi (used to some extent in Bihar and Eastern U. P.), as well as the Mahajani (in the Western U. P. and Rajasthan), which are but cursive or broken forms of Nagari, and these are already in type. In Kashmir, there is the Śāradā alphabet, going close to Gurmukhi, which is used by the local Hindus (Brahmans) for both Kashmiri and Sanskrit; but it has not been cast in type.

All these alphabets are ultimately descended from the Brāhmī script of ancient India, which was a pan-Indian, a sort of National Indian Alphabet in the centuries immediately before Christ and after. This Brahmi alphabet was believed to have been created out of the Semitic (Phoenician) system of writing by Indian merchants, several hundred years before Christ. One recent view, however,

is that it was derived, probably in the 10th century B. C., from the pre-Aryan script as used at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa and other ancient pre-Aryan cities in Panjab, Sindh and other areas, and was adapted for the needs of the Aryan language (Vedic Sanskrit). In any case, there was this script which became an all-India system several hundred years before Christ. It went on changing century by century, but there was a general uniformity of script upto a few centuries after Christ. Then local variations became accentuated in the different provinces. We have the Southern Scripts, an important development of which was the Pallava (c. 550 A. D.), and this ultimately became Telugu-Kannada, Grantha-Tamil and Malayalam. Then we have the Northern variations of Brāhmī, successively the Kushana and the Gupta-Brāhmī, the Siddha-mātrkā of the 7th century A. D. This last evolution of Brāhmī in North India gave rise to three distinct groups during the closing centuries of the first millennium A. D. viz. the Śāradā-Gurmukhī, the Bengali-Assamese-Maithilī-Newarī-Oriya, and the Nāgarī or Dēva-nāgarī. Except for Oriya, the current form of which Script is based on manuscript handed from the 15th century onwards, these became more or less differentiated round about 1000 A. D. The Indian script was taken outside India also : Ceylon, Burma and Cambodia as well as Indonesia got their various scripts, mostly from South India ; and Tibetan and some of the ancient speeches of Serindia or Central Asia—Old Khotanese and Tokharian, as well as Old Turki—were written in forms of the North Indian (Gupta Brāhmī) alphabet as current in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Although from the same source and following the same system, the shapes of the letters in these various Modern Indian Alphabets have become rather different from each other, and each has to be learnt separately, though of course the basic points of agreement or resemblance among all these are there, and these are frequently quite easy to notice. The Nāgarī is the script used by the largest number. It is employed not only to write Hindi and all the speeches and dialects which have now come within its orbit (e.g. Maithilī), but also Marathi and Nepali, and frequently Panjabi and Gujarati. It is being adapted for Sindhi also. Sanskrit has always been written in the various provincial scripts. But now, since the foundation of three Indian Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857, the Nāgarī has been accepted as the

pan-Indian script for Sanskrit. The publication of the first Sanskrit Grammar in English using the Nagari script in 1805 from Calcutta, and the printing of the original Mahābhārata in Sanskrit in Nagari also from Calcutta during 1834-1839, as well as the publication of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa (with Italian translation) by Gaspar. Corresio from Italy during 1846-1867, and particularly of the first edition of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's Commentary by F. Max Müller from Oxford during 1848-1870, are factors to be taken into note for the gradual full adoption of the Nagari as the pan-Indian Script for Sanskrit, during the last 100 years. The proper name of the script was *Nāgarī*, and it took shape in the cities of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Western U. P. Probably the influence of the Nāgara Brahmans in Gujarat gave it its present name. A fancied exclusive connexion with the Sanskrit language, the great culture and religious language of India, and the name *Dēva-bhāṣā* or "the Language of the Gods", as commonly used for Sanskrit, extended the name from *Nāgarī* to *Dēva-Nāgarī*; and this addition of the word *Dēva* gave an extra prestige or sanctity to this script. Often the historical perspective is lost sight of, and many good people imagine that the Deva-nagari script is the only script proper for Sanskrit. This new outlook is of course recent, and unhistorical: people ordinarily have no idea of the Brāhmī and its latter developments which are behind the Nagari, Bengali, Grantha-Tamil, and the rest. Many Indians have thought of putting an end to the Babel of Scripts in India by making Nagari the sole script for all Indian languages. As a measure to bring about this desired result, and to facilitate the learning of languages like Bengali, Oriya, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil etc. among other Indians reading Sanskrit and Hindi and Marathi books and articles in Bengali and in other languages with different scripts have sometimes been printed in the Nagari.

But the Nagari, with most of its sister Indian Scripts, has certain disadvantages. It is, in front of the Roman, quite a complicated script, both in the shapes of its letters and in some of its principles. There is one great factor in favour of the Nagari and other Indian alphabets connected with it: it is the Scientific Scheme of the Alphabet—the Arrangement of its Letters on a strictly Phonetic Basis. In the system of the Indian alphabet, vowels and consonants are not jumbled together without any thought or arrangement, as in the Roman or Arabic alphabet. We have here first the Vowels, as they occurred in Old Indo-Aryan

Sanskrit (*a ā, i ī, u ū, ṛ, ḷ, ɛ, ai, ō au*, with the unvoiced breathing and the nasalized continuation of a vowel, *ḥ, ṁ*, besides the two Vocalic Consonants *ṛ* and *ḷ*, short and long); and then come the Consonants arranged according to the points of articulation from the throat outwards (gutturals—*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*; palatals—*c, ch, j, jh, ñ*; cacuminals—*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ*; dentals—*t, th, d, dh, n*; labials—*p, ph, b, bh, m*), followed by the Semi-vowels and Liquids (*y, r, l, v*) and the Sibilants and the Aspirate (*ś, ṣ, s, h*).

The Indian system of writing is in principle strictly alphabetical, and phonetic; but in its application, it is syllabic. The vowels, when they come after a consonant, are just contracted into small signs which are tagged on to the preceding consonants; and two or more consonants coming together without a vowel in between are combined into complicated ligatures, in most of the alphabets now current, in which the component consonants frequently occur as fragments of the original letters. These ligatures and other modifications bring up the total number of separate types to print the Nagari to some 450 or more separate type items, although the simple vowels and consonants in isolation number only 48.

The advantages of the Roman script compared with the Nagari are manifold. The Roman will easily be acceptable to the users of the Perso-Arabic script, some of whom are now advocating it as they do not at all feel attracted to the Nagari. This mentality behind the support for the Roman will of course not be enthusiastically acceptable to the Hindus. With the Roman letters, with their simple shapes, and their inter-national employment all over the world, learning any Indian language would be easy, and printing would be quick and cheap. The Roman letters, arranged in the scientific or strictly phonetic order of the Indian Nagari and other scripts, with a few dotted or capped letters for special Indian sounds (or with some separate or movable signs following the usual letters, to give by combination the required letters with diacritical marks), will give the most convenient and scientific script to India: an *Indo-Roman Script*, for all the languages of India.

Indian sentiment, however, is now not in a mood to listen to this reform—or, rather, this change of script. The “Scientific Character of Nagari and other Indian Writing” is an axiom of faith in Indian Nationalism. So the present occasion is not propitious for the idea to take root among the people, although groups of Indian advocates of the Roman script for all Indian

languages (notably the *Rōmaka-Lipi Samiti*, "Roman Letters Society", RLS, of Calcutta) are doing a slight propaganda, and a number of professors of science and others are also supporting it. On the other hand, the extreme nationalistic bias in favour of Nagari is, in the opinion of the present writer, retarding Indian science by even introducing Nagari symbols for the elements in Chemistry and for the formulae and symbols in other sciences, in teaching boys in colleges and high schools, as they are seeking to do, inspite of protests from science teachers and others. The advocates of Nagari to the entire exclusion of the Roman do not realize that in this way they are bottling up Indian scientific education by cutting it off from the rest of the world, when they suggest writing for H_2SO_4 $ह२सुअ४$ i.e. $U_2\text{S}uA_4$ or $हा२गंभी४$ i.e. $H\bar{a}_2Ga\bar{m}Au_4$ and for $NaCl$, $सोक्लो$ i.e. $SoKlo$.

For the present, we cannot look forward to an immediate wholesale change of opinion in favour of the Roman script. Possibly Nagari will become more and more employed, inspite of opposition from those who speak languages other than Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Nepali. The present writer, however, is quite optimistic for the ultimate victory of the Roman Script in India, in the interest of the Indian people itself.

The question of the Perso-Arabic script for India need not be seriously considered. This script is totally unsuitable for any other language excepting the Semitic Arabic. The lack of vowel signs, and the shapes of its letters, many of which have only a dot or a number of dots as their distinctive characteristic, make it difficult to read and bad also for the eye. Not even the most ardent supporters of the Perso-Arabic script for Urdu have seriously thought of extending its use to other Indian languages (excepting Sindhi and Kashmiri, and some Panjabi). The Pakistan Government wanted to introduce it for Bengali in East Bengal, to make Pakistani Bengali fall in line with Urdu, Persian and Arabic in the matter of script. But the proposal met with determined opposition, and has since been abandoned. We should, however, take note of the fact that Turkish (Osmanli Turkī) has definitely abandoned its Perso-Arabic script for the Roman. Persian also might be expected to follow Turkish in this matter, and Persian music is written perforce in Roman, as it must go left to right. But the Persians are hesitating at the expense in re-printing the entire mass of their national literature

in Roman transcript, and at the immediate inconveniences during the period of transition. The languages of Africa like Hausa and Swahili are abandoning the Arabic script for the Roman, and Malay, as *Bahasa Indonesia* or the National Language of Indonesia, has adopted the Roman as its official script. Roman Malay is also largely used in the new independent country of Malaya. The Turki (Chagatai or Uigur Turkī) and other languages of the Soviet Union have finally abandoned the Perso-Arabic script for the Russian (Cyrillic). The Perso-Arabic script has no case in India, except in the sentiment of Muslim and other users of Urdu.

APPENDIX

SPECIMENS OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

Below are given specimens of some of the more important languages and dialects of Modern India. They are taken mostly from the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* by Sir George Abraham Grierson (excepting for a few from some of the dialects, as well as for Romani, Sinhalese, Persian, Arabic, Burmese etc., and Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsa). The first four sentences of Jesus's *Parable of the Prodigal Son* from the *New Testament* (St. Luke, XV) are given in the various speeches. These lines are as follows in English :

A certain man had two sons ; and the younger of them said to (his) father—Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth (to me). And he divided unto them (his) living.

The specimens are given according to the Families, Branches, Groups and Sub-groups to which the speeches belong, beginning with the Indo-European Family in its Aryan Branch. As a preliminary to the New Indo-Aryan languages, translations of the above passage are first given in Vedic Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan), and in Pali, Sauraseni Prakrit and Western Apabhramsa (Middle Indo-Aryan). The original Greek as in the *New Testament*, and a tentative reconstructed version in Primitive Indo-European are also given for comparison with Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan).

I. INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY, ARYAN OR INDO-IRANIAN BRANCH

I. Indo-European Family, Aryan or Indo-Iranian Branch

[A] Indo-Aryan (Sanskritic) Group

(1) Old and Middle Indo-Aryan :

(a) Vedic Speech, c. 1000 B. C. (with hypothetical pronunciation within brackets)—

mánuṣaḥ kásya-cid dwā' sūnū' āstām. prāti tám pitáram á wōcat (á waucat) ē'tayōr (aitayaur) náwatarah [kani'yān]—pitár, dēhi (dazdhi) mē (mai) tám bhā'gam rāyás tē (tai), yāḥ máyi api patati. sá ha (gha) tā'bhyām swám ají'wam wí' á bhāk (á bhākt).

The above rendering into Vedic seeks to follow closely the Greek original. In the original (Late Classical) Greek, the passage runs as follows : ...

anthrōpós tis eikhen dúo huiouús. kai eĩpen ho neō'teros autōn tōi patri—páter, dós moi tò epibállon méros tēs ousías. ho de dieilen autoís tôn bíon.

In Primitive Indo-European—

mónusos q^wósyo-q^wid dwō' sūnū' ēstōm [mónus q^wis é seghet dwō' sūnū']. próti tóm pátērm e' wouq^wet óitoious néwoteros—pater, daddhi (dadzdhi) moi tóm bhā'gom rēíos toi, yós méyi épi peteti. só g^whe tō'bhyōm swóm ōg^wíwom wí ébhōgt.

(b) Classical Sanskrit (c. 500 B. C.)—

kasya-cid manuṣyasya [janasya, mānavasya] dvau putrau āstām. tayōḥ kaniyān pitaram āha [uvāca]—pitaḥ, bhavatām vittasya [dhanasya] yō bhāgō mayi ā-gamiṣyati, tam mē dēhi. tatō'sau svam vittam vi-bhajya tābhyām pra-dadau.

(c) Pali (c. 200 B. C.)—

ēkassa manussassa duvē puttā āsum. tēsam kaniṭṭhō—pitā, tava dhanassa yō bhāgō mayā laddhabbō hōti, tam mayham dēhī—ti pitaram avadi. tatō sō attanō dhanam vibhājētvā tēsam adāsi

(d) Prakrit—Śaurasēnī (c. 200 A. D.)—

ekkassa maṇussassa [mānavassa] duvē puttā āsī. tāṇam majjhē kaniṭṭhēṇa piduṇō sagāsē kadhidaṁ [kadhidagaṁ] —pidā, tava [tujjha] dhaṇassa jō bhāgō mama vaṭṭadi, tam mē diādu. tadō tēṇa appaṇō dhaṇam tāṇam majjhē vibhajjia [vaṇṭia] diṇṇam.

(e) Śaurasēnī or Western Apabhraṁśa (c. 900 A. D.)—

ekkāha maṇussāha duvi [dō] putta ahanta. tāṇa majjhī [maddhahi, madhahi, mahahī] choṭṭaē [choṭṭa-kaṇṇahī] vappaha-kahu [vappaha-kaṇṇahu] kahiu [kahiaū]—piu, tujjha [tava-kēraka] dhaṇāha ju bhāgu majjhu hōhii [huviṣṣai], tā mē [majjhu] dēhu [dijjaū]. taū vappē [vappe-kaṇṇahi] appaṇu dhaṇu puttāṇa majjhahī vibhajjia [vaṇṭia] diṇṇu [diṇṇaū].

(2) New Indo-Aryan :

(I) North-Western Group :

(Ia) Hindkī or Lahnda (Western Panjabi)—

(Ia i) Hindkī as current among the Awāns of District Attock, North-Western Frontier Province :

hikkī jaṇē-nē dō puttar āhē. unnhā-wiccō nikrē piu-ā
ākheā—piu, māl-nā jehṛā hissā māh ānā, māh waṇḍ-deh.
piu āpnā māl unnhā waṇḍ dittā.

(Ia ii) Multānī Hindkī—

hikk muṇs-dē dū puttar hāin. unhā-wiccū naṇḍhē
āpnē piu-kū ākheā jō—hā pēō, mē-kū dē jittī hissā
māl-dā mē-kū āndā hē. attē ũ āpnī jāedād unhā-kū
waṇḍ ditti.

(Ib i) Sindhi—

The speech of Haidarabad, Central Sindh (b', d' are the characteristic Sindhi "Recursive" Sounds) :

hikrē māṇhua-khē b'a putā huā. tīnī-mā naṇḍhē piu-khē
cayō—ē bābā, māl-mā jē-kō bhānō mūhī-jē hise acē,
sō mū-khē khaṇī d'ē. jāhī-tē huna mālu b'inhī-khē
wirāhē d'inō.

(Ib ii) Kachchhī—

hikrē māṛu-jā ba putar huā. tē-miñjhā-nū niṇḍhē putar
pē-kē cio—pē, milkat-miñjhā-nū jū-kō mū-jī patī thiē,
sē mū-kē dē. pōy in piṇḍh-jī milkat iṇī-kē wirāi ḍiṇē.

(II) Southern Group :

(II a) Marāṭhī—Standard Speech of Poona—

kōṇē ēkā māṇas-ās [manuṣy-ās] dōn putra [mulgē] hōtē.
tyā-tīl dhāktā bāpā-lā mhaṇālā—bābā, jō māl-mattē-cā
wāṭā ma-lā yāwayā-cā, tō dē. mag tyā-nē tyā-s sampatti
wāṭūn dilī.

(II b) Kōṇkaṇī (of Sāwant-wāḍi)—

ēkā manasyā-k dōn cēḍē āslē. ānī tānt-lō dhāktā bāpā-yak
mhaṇō lāglō—pāy, mā-kā yēwō tō sāsarā-cō wāṇṭō,
mā-kā dī. māgīr tyā-nē tā-kā āplō sāsar wāṇṭūn dālō.

(III) *Eastern Group :*

(III a) Oriya (Ōṛiā)—

jaṇa-kara dui pua thilā. tān-ka madhya-rē yē (=jē)
bayasa-rē sāna, sē āpaṇā bāpa-ku kāhilā—bāpā, mō
bāṇṭa-rē yēū (=jēū) sampatti paṛiba, tāhā mō-tē dia.
bāpa āpaṇā biṣaya-ku sē-mānaṇ-ka bhitarē bāṇṭi dēlā.

(III b) Assamese—

[Dentals and Cerebrals are both pronounced as Alveolars.
Single ś, ṣ, s are all pronounced as x (kh), the Unvoiced Guttural
Spirant.]

kono ejan (=èzɔn) mānuh-ar du-ṭā put-ek āchil (=āsil).
tār-ē saru-ṭo-wē (=xorutowe) bāp-ek-ak kalē—hē pitri,
sampatti-r (=xɔmpɔttir) yi (=zi) bhāg mō-t parē, tā-k
mo-k diyā. tā-tē tēo āpōn sampatti si-bilāk-ak (=xibilākɔk)
bāṭi dilē.

(III c i) Bengali—*Sādhu Bhāshā* or Standard Literary Bengali—

ēk byakti-r (=bekti-r) dui-ṭi putra chila. tan-madhyē
kaniṣṭha putra pitā-ke kahila—pitaḥ, sampattir yē (=jē)
amśa amār haibē, tāhā amā-kē diun. tāhā-tē tini āpan
sampatti tāhā-digēr madhyē bhāg (baṇṭan) kariyā dilēn.

(III c ii) Bengali—*Chalit Bhāshā* or the Standard Colloquial,
Calcutta and surrounding areas—

ēk-jan lōk-ēr du-ṭi chēlē chila. tādēr madhyē chōṭō-ṭi bāp-
kē ba'llē—bābā, āpnā-r biṣay-ēr madhyē ye (=je) bhāg
āmi pābō, tā amā-kē din. tā-tē tā-dēr bāp tā-r (nij-ēr,
āpnā-r) biṣay-āsāy tā-dēr madhyē bhāg-ka'rē (bēṭē) dilēn
(dilē).

(III c iii) Bengali—Dacca (Manikganj) Dialect—

ek-jan-er (=èk-dzɔner) dui-ḍi sāoāl āsilo. tā-gō moiddhē
sōṭō-ḍi tā-r bāp-ērē koilō—bābā, amā-r bhāgē (b'āgē) yē
(=dze) bittl-bēsād parē, tā amā-rē dēo. tā-tē tā-gō bāp-ē
tān biṣay-sampatti tā-gō moiddhē bāṭā dilēn.

(III c iv) Bangali—Manbhum Dialect—

ēk lōk-ēr du-ṭā bēṭā chila. tā-der madhyē chuṭu bēṭā tā-r
bāp-ke ballēk—bāp hē, tōm-ār daulat-ēr yā (=jā) hissā
āmi pābō, tā amā-kē dāo. ta-tē tā-der bāp āpan daulat
tā-dēr madhyē bākhrā ka'rē dilēk.

(III c v) Bengali—Chittagong Dialect (k, p become respectively x, φ)—

aug-goā māinsy-ēr duā pōā āsil. tā-r moiddhē soḍuā tā-r ba-rē (=bo-re) koilo—bā-ji, āonār sampatti-r jei amśa āi pāiyam, hei-in ā-re deok. taan tā-rā-r bāp tā-rā-r moiddhē nij-ēr sampatti bhāg kari dil.

(III c vi) Bengali—Chākmā Dialect (Chittagong Hill Tracts)—

ēk jan-tun dibā pōā ēl. cikan pōā-ai tā bāb-rē kala (=kolo)—bābā, sampatti ma-r (=mɔr) bhāgē je parē, ma-rē dē. tā-r bāb-ē tā-r je ēla, bhāg dila.

(III c vii) Māyāng or Bishnupuriyā (Manipur, Cachar, Sylhet)—

muni āgō-r putō dū-gō āsil. tănō diyōg-ōrān-tō khulā augōi bāp-ōk-ōrān mātlo—bābā, mi pāituō bārkhan sārūk auta diyā-dē. tănō-r bāp-ōk-ē dōn (=dhan) auta bāgiyā (=bhāgiyā) diyā-dilō.

(III c viii) Koch-Bihār Dialect—

ek-janā (=dzanā) mānsi-r dui-kōnā bēṭā āsil. tā-r maddhe choṭa jan (=soṭo-dzan) uār bāp-ok kail (=koil)—bā, sampattir ye (=dze) hissā mui pāim, tā-k mō-k dēn. tā-tē tāy tā-r māl-māttā dōnō bēṭāk bāṭiyā-ciriyā dil.

(III d i) Bihārī—Maithilī—

kōnō manukhya-kē dui bēṭā rahai-nhi. ōhi-sā choṭkā bāp-sā kahai-kai-nhi je—au bābā, dhan-sampatti-mē-sā jē ham-ar hissā hōy, sē hamrā diyah. takhan ō hun-kā apan sampatti bāṭi dēl-thī-nhi.

(III d ii) Bihārī—Magahī—

ēk ādmi-kē du-gō bēṭā hal-thī-n. un-kanhī-mē-sē choṭkā apan bāp-sē kahai-ak kē—ē bābū-jī, tō-har cij-batus (=bastu)-mē-sē jē ham-ar bakhrā hō-hai, sē hamrā dē-dao. tab ū apan sab cij-batus un-ka-nhī dūnō-mē bāṭ dēl-ak.

(III d iii) Bihārī—Bhōjpurī—

... ēk ādmi-kā dū bēṭā rahē. choṭkā apnā bāp-sē kahai-as ki—ē bābū-jī, dhan-mē jē ham-ār hissā hō-khē, sē bāṭ dī. tab ū apan dhan dūnō-kē bāṭ dēl-as.

(III d iv) Bihārī—Sadānī or Choṭā-Nāgpuriyā—

kōnō ādmī-kēr dū-jhan bēṭā rahaī. ū-man-madhē choṭkā bāp-kē kahāl-ak—ē bāp, khurjī-madhē jē ham-ar baṭwārā hai, sē ham-kē dē. tab ū ū-man-kē apan khurjī bāṭ dēl-ak.

(III e) Halbī—Bastar District, Madhya Pradesh :

Kōnī ādmī-co dui-ṭhan bēṭā ralā. hunī-bhītar-co nānī bēṭā bāp-kō bōllō—ē bābā, dhan-māl-bhītar-lē jē mō-cō baṭā āy, mō-kē diā. tēbē hun-kē āpan-cō dhan-kē bāṭun dīlo.

(IV) East-Central Group—Kosalī or “Eastern Hindi” :

(IV a) Awadhī or Kōsalī—Baiswārī Dialect—

kaunaũ manaī-kē dui bēṭwā rahin. au un-mā-sē lahurwā apnē bāp-sē kahis—dādā hō, māl-ṭāl-mā-sē jaon hīsā ham-ār nikasāi, taon ham-kā dai-dyā. tau bāp āpan rijik un-mā bāṭ dīhis.

(IV b) Baghēlī or Baghēlkhaṇḍī (Rewa District)—

ēk manaī-kē dui larikā rahaī. taunē-mā choṭkaunā apnē bāp-sē kahis—dādā, dhan-mā jaun mō-r hīsā hōi, taun mō-hī dai-dēi. tab wā un-kā āpan dhan bāṭi dīhis.

(IV c) Chattisgarhī or Mahākōsalī : Bilaspur—

kōnō mankhē-kē dui bēṭawā rahin. un-mā-lē choṭkā-har apan dadā-lē kahis—dadā, māl-mattā-kē jaun hīsā mō-r bāṭā-mā parat hōhī, taun mō-kā dē-dē. au wō-har apan māl-mattā un-kā bāṭ dīhis.

(V) Midland or Central Group :

(V a) Hindī or Western Hindī Speeches :

(V a i) Hindustānī (Hindusthānī), Hindī—Pure Hindustani,

Khaṛibōlī or Thēṭh-Hindī, with pure Hindī words—

kisī mānus-kē dō bēṭē thē. un-mē-sē lahurē bēṭē-nē bāp-sē kahā—hē bāp, āp-kē dhan-mē jō mērā bakhrā hō, us-kō mujhē dē dijiyē. tab us-nē apnā dhan un-mē bāṭ diyā

(V a ii) Standard Urdū, or Musalmānī Hindī or Hindustānī, with Perso-Arabic words—

ēk (kisī) šaxs-kē dō bēṭē thē. un-mē-sē chōṭē-nē bāp-sē kahā—abbā-jān, āp-ki jāedād-mē jō-kuch mērā hissā hai, mujh-kō dē-dijiyē. cūnāce us-nē apnā asāsā dōṇō-kō taqsim kar diyā.

(V a iii) Standard or *Sādhū*, *Śuddh*, or 'Pariniṣṭhit' Hindī—

kisī manuṣya-kē dō putr thē. un-mē-sē chuṭkē-nē pitā-sē kahā ki—pitā-jī, apnī sampatti-mē jō mērā ams hō, sō mujhē dē-dījiyē. tab us-nē un-kō apnī sampatti bāt di.

(V a iv) Chaltī or Chālū Hindī, Bāzārī Hindustānī (mostly in North India)—

ēk ādmī-kā dō bēṭā thā. un-mē-sē choṭā bēṭā bāp-kō kahā—bābā, āp-kā dhan-daulat-mē jō bakhrā hamārā hōgā, uskō ham-kō (hamē) dē-dījiyē. tab bāp (ū ādmī) apnā dhan-daulat dōnō-mē bāt diyā.

(V a v) 'Vernacular Hindustani', *Jānapad* Hindī or Hindustānī, as current as home-language in Meerut (Mēraṭh) district—

ēk ādmī-kē dō lōṇḍē thē. un-mē-tē chōṭē-nē apnē bāp-settī kahā—ō bāp, tērē marē picchē jō-kuch dhan-dhartī majhē milēngī, wā ibhī dē-dē. bāp-nē dōnō lōṇḍē-kō apnī māyā bāt di.

(V a vi) Bāṅgarū or Jāṭū (Karnal District)—

ēk māṇas-kai dō chōrē thē. un-māi-tai choṭṭē-nē bāppū-tai kahyā ak—bāppū hō, dhan-kā jaun-sā hissā mērē bāḍē āwē, sē ma-nnai dē-dē. tau us-nē dhan unhaī bāḍ diyā.

(V a vii) Daknī or Dakhnī Speech of North Indian Muslims settled in the Deccan and South India—

ēk ādmī-kē dō bēṭē thē. un-mē-sē chōṭē chōrē-nē bōlā, —bābā, mērē bhāg-kā māl mērē-kū dē. haur us-nē un-mē bhāg pāṛ diyā.

(V a viii) Brajabhāṣā or Braj-bhākhā (Mathura & Aligarh)—

ēk janē-kē dwai (dō) bēṭā hē. un-mē-tē chōṭē-nē bāp-sū kahyau ki—ē bāp, mērau jō bāṭu hōtu-hai, sō mōy dai-dēu. tab wā-nē mālu unhaī bāṭi diyau.

(V a ix) Kanaujī—

ēk janē-kē dōe laṛikā hatē. un-māi-sē chōṭē-nē bāp-sē kahī ki—hē pitā, mālu-kō hīsā jō hamāro cāhiyē, sō dēo. tab un-nē mālu unhē bāt daō.

(V a x) Bundēlī (Jhansi District)—

ēk janē-kē dō mōṛā hatē. ōr tā-mē-sō lōrē-nē apnē daddā-sē kai (=kahī)—dhan-mē-sē mērō hissā mō-khōḥ dēi rākhō. tā-kē picchē ū-nē apnō dhan barār daō.

(V b) Panjābī (Eastern Panjabi) :

(V b i) Standard Speech—

ikk manukkh-dē dō putt san. atē unhā wiccō chōṭē-nai
piu-nū ākhiā—pitā-jī, mā-dā jihṛā hissā mai-nū pahūcdā
hai, sō mai-nū dē-dio. atē us-nē unhā-nū pūjī waṇḍ ditti.

(V b ii) Dōgrī Panjābī (Jammu State)—

ik ādmī-dē dō puttar thē. ũ-dē wiccā nikaṛai-nē babbē
kī ākhiā jē—hē bāpū-jī, jāedātī-dā jē hissā mi-kī pujdā
(=pahūcdā) hai, sai mi-kī dēi-dēo. tā us-nai māl unē-
kī waṇḍi dittā.

(V b iii) Panjābī—Kangrī (Kangra District)—

kusī māhṇuē-dē dō puttar thē. tinā-bicā lauhkē puttrē
babbē-kanē bōliā jē—hē bāpū-jī, jē-kich gharē-dē laṭṭē-
phaṭṭē-bicā mērā hisā hōē, seh miñjō dēo. tā babbē
tinā-kī apṇā laṭṭā-phaṭṭā waṇḍi dittā.

(V c) Rājasthānī-Gujarātī Group :

(V c i) Gujarātī (b' = recursive sound, with glottal stop accom-
paniment)—

ēk māṇas-nē b'ē dīkrā hatā. anē tēo-mā-nā nānāe bāp-nē
kahyū kē—bāp, sampat-nō pahōctō bhāg ma-nē āp. nē
tē-nē tēo-nē puñjī wahēcī āpī.

(V c ii I) Rājasthānī—

(V c iii) Mārwarī Rājasthānī (Jodhpur)—

ēk jīnai-rai dōy ḍāwṛā hā. uwā-māy-sū nainakiāi āp-rai
bāp-nai kayō kai—bābō-sā, mārī pātī-rō māl āwai, jī-kō
ma-nai dirāwō. jarai uṇ āp-rī ghar-bikrī uṇā-nai bāṭ diwī.

(V c ii 2) Jaipurī (Dhūṇḍhārī) Rājasthānī—

ēk jaṇā-kai dō bēṭā chā. wā-māi-sū choṭkyō āp-kā bāp-
nai khai (=kahī)—dādā-jī, dhan-māi-sū jō bāṭō mhārāi
bāṭē āwai, sō mū-nai dyō. wō āp-kō dhan wā-nai bāṭ
dīnū.

(V c ii 3) Mewāṭī—

kahī ādmī-kai dō bēṭā hā. un-māi-tāi chōṭā-nai apṇā
bāp-tāi kahī—bābā, dhan-māi-tāi mērā baṭkō āwai, sō
mū-nai bāṭ dē. wāih-nai apaṇu dhan un-nai bāṭ diyō.

(V c ii 4) Mālavī—

kōi admī-kē dō chōrā thā. un-mē-sē chōṭā chōrā-nē
ō-kā bāp-sē kiyō ke—dāy-jī, mha-kē mhārō dhan-kō hissō
dai-lākh. ōr ō-nē un-mē apnā māl-tāl-kō bāṭō kar-diyō.

(V c ii 5) Gujurī : N.-W. Frontier Province, Panjab and
Kashmir—

ēk admī-kā dō pūt thā. tē nikkā-nē apnā bāppa-na kēhō
—ai bā-jī, tērā māḷ-kō mērō hissō, ōh ma-na dē. tē us-nē
apnō māḷ unhā-bicc baṇḍ dittō.

(V c ii 6) Bhīlī or Bhilōḍī, with Gujarātī influence (Īḍar
State)—

ēk ādam-nyē bē sōrā atā. nē aṇā-mā-hā nōnē sōrē in-ā
bāp-nē kējyū (=kahyū)—ātā, mārē pātī-ē āwē i tamārī
puñjī-nō phāg (=bhāg), may ālō. nē wa-ṇē pōtā-nī puñjī
bēyā-nē wāṭī ālyī.

(V c ii 7) Khandeshi (with Marāṭhi influence) —

kōṇī-ēk māṇas-lē dō āṇḍōr whatas. tyā-mā-nā dhāklā āp-lē
bāp-lē mhannā—bābā, ma-nā hissā-lē jī jingī (=zindagī)
yēi, tī mā-lē dē. ānī tyā-nī tyās-lē jingī wāṭī di-dī.

(VI) Northern or Himalayan or Pahārī Group :

(VI a) Eastern Pahārī : Khas-kurā, or Gōrkhālī, or Parbatiyā,
or Nepālī—

ēk janā mānchē-kā dui-bhāi chōrā thiyē. anī tini-haru-mā.
kō kānchō caī-lē bābu-lāi bhanyō—bābai, dhan-sampatti.
kō mā-lāi parnē bhāg mā-lāi dēu bhani. anī tyēs-lē tini-
haru-lāi āphnu jibika bāṛi diyō.

(VI b) Central Pahārī Speeches—

(VI b i) Kumāonī—Khas-parjiyā Dialect, Dt. Almora—

kai maisā-k dwī cyāl (=cēl) chiy. aur unō-mē-ihā kāsai-l
(=kānchai-la) āpaṇ bab-thai kay—ō bab, āpaṇ jājāt-mē-hai
(=jāedād) jō bāṭ myar (=mēr) hū-cha, ū mī-kaṇi dī-dē. aur
wī-l uno-kaṇi āpnī jājāt bāṭ diy.

(VI b ii) Garhwālī of Srinagar—

kai admī-kā dwī nau-nyāl chayā. ū-mā-n choṭa nau-nyāl-an
apnā bābā-jī-mā bōlē—hē bābā-jī, bīrsat-mā-n jō mērō hisā
cha, so māi-saṇi dē-dēw. tab ū-n apnī bīrsat bāṭ diyē.

(VI c) Western Pahārī or Western Himalayan Dialects :

These fall under ten sub-groups : (1) Jaunsari, (2) Sirmaurī; (3) Baghātī, (4) Kiūṇṭhālī, (5) the Satlaj dialects, three in number, (6) Maṇḍēālī dialects of Maṇḍī State, (7) Kuḷūi dialects of the Kulū area, (8) Chamēālī dialects of Chambā State, (9) Bha-drawāhi, and (10) Pāḍarī.

Specimens of 4 of the above are given below :

(VI c i) Sirmaurī—

ekī janē-rē dū bēṭē thiyē. kānchē bēṭē āpnē bāw-khē bōlō—bāpu, mērē bāṇḍē hisāb mā-khē dē. tēṇiyē tiṇī-khē hisāb bāṇḍē diyā.

(VI c ii) Maṇḍēālī—

ekī manukhā-rē dūi gābhrū thē. maṭṭhē gābhrū-ē āpnē bābbā-sāogī bōlyā jē—mā-jō laṭē-phaṭē-rī bāḍ jē āunī, tēsā dēi-dē. tā tēs-rē babbē tēs-rī bāḍ laṭē-phaṭē-rī tēs-jō dēi-dīti.

(VI c iii) Chamēālī—

ekī māṇhū-rē dūi puttar thīē. tiā-khāũ lauhkaṛē puttrē babbē-sēitē balū—hē bāpū, ghar-bārī-rā hesā jē miñjō muḷdā hā, sō dē. tā unnī ghar-bārī baṇḍī dīti.

(VI c iv) Kuḷūi—

ekī māṇhū-rē dūi bēṭē tī. tīnhā-mañjē-na hocchē bēṭē bāpū-saṅghē bōlū—ī bābā, māl-matā-rī jē bāṇḍ mū-bē puḷjāsā, mū-bē dē. tēbbē tēiē tīnhā-bē baṇḍī dhīnā.

(VII) New Indo-Aryan Languages spoken outside India :

(VII a) Sinhalese—

Middle Indo-Aryan dialects from Lāḷa (Lāḍa, Lāṭa) or Gujarat and South Sindh (still known as Lāṭ) were taken to Ceylon during the second half of the 1st millennium B. C., and in Ceylon these developed into what may be called a *Sihala* or *Siṃhala Prākṛta*. This Indo-Aryan speech of ancient and early medieval Ceylon became the *Eḷu* speech—a kind *Sihala Apabhraṃśa*—about a thousand years ago, and from this the Modern Sinhalese has descended (*Siṃhalaḥ*—*Sihala*—*Hiala*—*Helu*, *Eḷu*). Sinhalese now borrows freely from Sanskrit, like any other language on the main-land of India, and takes words from Pali also.

æ is a peculiar sound of Sinhalese for which there is a special letter—it is like the *a* in the South English pronunciation of *man*, *cat* (= *mæn*, *kæt*).

ek-tarā miniheku-ṭa putrayō dē-dēnēk wūha. owun'-gen
bālayā piyā-ṭa kathā koṭa—piyāṇeni, oba-gē wastu-win
ma-ṭa ayiti wana kotasa ma-ṭa denumænæwayi kīyeya.
e-wiṭa piyā tamā-gē wastuwa daruwan dedenā-ṭa bedā-
dunnēya.

(VII b) The Gypsy or Romani Dialects of Western Asia and Europe (and America)—

In the centuries just before the Christian era, groups of Middle-Indo-Aryan-speakers from the North-West Frontier tracts left India and became nomadic adventurers in the West. The reasons for this migration are not known. They became the ancestors of the Gypsy or Romani peoples, who are found in Iran, in Armenia and in Western Asia. They crossed over to Europe, and are now found in most European countries. From Europe they have also migrated in small numbers to America. They have kept up their New Indo-Aryan speech, with some peculiar features of its own, but now very much broken up in dialects, in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, in Spain and in Britain. They are now gradually becoming merged among the surrounding populations, particularly in Western Europe, and are losing their Indian Speech.

The specimen given below has been rendered into the dialect of the Gypsies of Wales, which has been described in great detail and considered historically in John Sampson's work (Oxford University Press, 1926).

sās ('was') yekhestī mānuṣestī dūī cāwe (=śāva). phendās
(('said', from root *bhaṇ*) o leñero (= 'their', from MIA. *tāṇaṃ-
kera*.) tārñeder (= 'younger'—*taruṇa-tara*) lestī ('to their')
dādestī ('to-father')—dāde, dē man ('to-me') mīro ('my')
ulawiben ('share' + *ullabha* + *-paṇa*) tiro ('from your') barwali-
penāste ('from wealth'—*balavat-paṇa*). thā ('and' = *tathā*)
phagerdās ('divided'—*phāga* = *bhāga*) yow pes-kō ('his own'—
appassa + *kaa* = *ātmanaḥ* + *kṛta*) barwalipen, thā dīās ('gave')
les ('to him'—*tasya*) ī ('to these') phālēñī ('to brothers'—*phāl*,
or *phrāl* = *bhrātā*).

[B] Dardic Group of Aryan or Indo-Iranian**(I) Dard Sub-group :**

(I a) Kāshmīrī, or Kōšir(ū) : it has a number of dialects (in addition to Standard Kashmiri, which is given below), like Kashṭawāṛī, Pōguli, Sirājī and Rāmbanī.

Written Kashmiri—transcribed from the Śāradā (and Nāgarī) scripts. The final vowels given within brackets, (a, i, u, ū), are pronounced very short ; and â, á are modified sounds.

akis mahaniwis âs(i) zh nyaciw(i). timau-manza dâp(u) kûs(i)-hih(i) mâlis ki—hē māli, mya dih danuk(u) his(ū) yus mya wâti. tawa pata tām(i) tihandi khâtra dana bâg-rowun.

In actual pronunciation :

akis mahaniwis ôs(i) zâh nēcīw(i). timau-manza dōp(u) kûs(i)-hih(i) mōlis ki—hē māli, mē dih danuk(u) his(ū) yus mē wâti. tawa pata tam(i) tihandi-khōt(a)ra dana bōg(a)-rōwun.

(I b) Shīṇā—

There are 7 dialects—Gilgiti, Astorī, Chilāsī, Gurēzī, Brōk-pā or Drās Shīṇā, Ḍah-hanū Shīṇā and Shīṇā of N.-W. Gilgit. Only one specimen (from Gilgit Shīṇā) is given.

kō-ek manuj-rō-kē dū dārē āsilē. ainējō cunōsé tomō bābété rēgō—bābō, jābei bāgō má-té dé, kachāk má-t wán. neh rōsé tomé asbāb ainō majā bāgēgō.

(I c) Kohistāni—

A number of dialects current in Panjkora, in Swat Valley, and in the Indus-Kohistan area come under this—like Gārwī, Tōrwālī, and Maiyā. A specimen of Gārwī is given :

ak mēšā dū pūṭa āśu. lakōṭ pūṭ tanī bab-ka manō—mai-ki māl-mē tanī ḍāh da. tan tanī māl duēra ḍāh-kēr.

(II) Kāfir Sub-group.

These are divided into 5 further groupings—(1) Bashgalī, (2) Wai-alā, (3) Wasī-veri or Prēsun, (4) Ashkund, and (5) Kalāshā. Pashai ; and under this (5), again, we have (5a) Kalāshā, (5b) Gawarbati or Narsātī, (5c) Pashai, Laghmānī or Dēhgānī, (5d) Dirī and (5e) Tirāhī. A specimen of one only is given below.

(a) Bashgalī—

e manje du pitr azamme. amnō pamiju kaṇištē tot-os-tā
gijī karas—eh tot-a, tō latrī pamiju ī baṛistā gats. tōt-eze
amnō pamij baṛektī ptastai.

(III) *Khō-wār, Chitrālī or Arniya Sub-group* : only one speech
in this sub-group.

ī mōš-o jū žizau astani. hatēt-an muji tsirō tat-o-tē
rēstai—ē tat, ma-tē ma baš-o tan māl-ār, ki ma-tē tabiran,
dēt. hasa hatēt-an mūji tan daulat-o božitai.

[C] Iranian Group of Aryan or Indo-Iranian

(1) East Iranian Speeches :

(I) Pashtō or Pakhtō (Paštō, Paxtō)—

Pashto or Pakhto is the language of the Afghans—the Pashtāna
or Pakhtāna (Indianized as *Paṭṭhāṇa, Paṭhāṇ, Paṭhān and Pāṭhān*).
It has several dialects, which range under two groups—the *sh*-dialects
and the *kh*-dialects. Pashto-speakers in former Indian (now Pakistan)
territory numbered 1·5 millions in 1941, and in Afghanistan there
were 2·35 millions, in all some 4 millions.

dā yau sarī dwa dzāmān wū. kšār war-ta wuwe ci—ai
plāra, dā xpāla māla ci-tsā baxra me rasī, mā-la rā-ka.
jōr haya pē wēša wuka.

(II) Balochī—

Current in Balochistan, but it is also spoken by settled
communities in Sindh, South-Western Panjab, and South-Eastern
Iran. It has two main dialects—Western or Pure Balochi,
and Eastern or Indian Balochi. In between these two is Brāhui,
the Dravidian language of Balochistan. The total number of Balochi-
speakers does not come up to even 1 million.

(2) The Central Asian Ghalcha Languages :

In the Pamir Plateau of Central Asia a group of Iranian
dialects is spoken, and these stand apart from both West Iranian
(Persian, Kurd, Ossetic etc.) and East Iranian (Pashto, Baloch).
These Ghalcha Dialects of Pamir are seven in number—(1) Wakhī,
(2) Shighnī, (3) Sarīqōlī, (4) Zebakī, Sanglichī or Ishkāshmī,
(5) Munjānī, (6) Yūdghā, and (7) Yaghnobī.

(3) West Iranian Languages :

(3 I) Ōrmuṛī or Bargistā—

Spoken by a small group of people in Waziristan, living among Pathan people. This speech is more closely allied with the West Iranian languages, like Kurdi and connected dialects, and not with its neighbours the East Iranian speeches like Pashto and Balochi. The presence of this West Iranian speech so far away in the East is a mystery.

(3 II) Persian (New Persian, Fārsī)—

This is the Standard Language of Modern Persia, and it was brought to India in the 11th-12th centuries by the Turki and Afghan and Persian-speaking Muslims from Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia, and was established in India in the 13th century. It became the official language of the Muslim States of India, and the universally accepted culture language of the Indian Muslims. Many Hindus in Kashmir, Panjab, and Uttar Pradesh, and later in Rajasthan, Bihar and Bengal, also used to study it. Persian influenced all the languages of India, both in the North, in the Deccan and in the South. Through Persian, a large number of Arabic words came also to Indian languages. A literature of history, poetry and *belles-lettres* in Persian was created by Indian writers on the Indian soil, and Persian (like English at the present day) found a new home in India and became almost an Indian language. In India, the Persian that is studied is rather archaic, and Indian pronunciation of Modern Persian is based on Persian pronunciation of 500 years ago. Below is given the passage from the *Story of the Prodigal Son* in Standard Indian Persian, with the same in modern (Iranian) Persian given after. (The diction is pure Persian in its words, and commonly used Arabic equivalents are put within [] square brackets.)

mardumē-rā [šaxsē-rā] do pīsarān budand. kucak-tar az ānān pidar-aš-rā guft ki—ai pidar ! pārah-ē-jāedād-ē-šumā ki barāy-ē-man bāšad, ma-rā bi-dih. ān mardum [šaxs] bar pīsarān-ē-khwēš jāedād-aš-rā bahrah [taqsīm] kard.

In the transcription given from modern Iranian pronunciation, ɔ = the sound of *aw* as in English *law* ; æ = the sound of *a* in South English *man* ; ɔ, i, u are long, æ, e, o are short ; k' is a palatalized k ; p, t, k k' become strongly aspirated when initial (=ph, th, kh, k'h) ; and b, d, g, g' tend to become unvoiced :

mærdomirɔ [šæxsirɔ] do phesærhɔ bodænd. khoçæktær æz ūn phedær-æš-rɔ guft k'he—ei phedær ! phore-e-

jædɔd-e-šomɔ k'he bæɾɔy-e-mæn bɔʃæd, mæ-rɔ bedeh.
un mærdom bæɾ phesærhɔ-e-xiʃ jædɔd-æʃ-rɔ bæhre
[thæysim] k'hærd.

As an important component of Modern Persian, and *as a language which has influenced Indian languages (through Persian to a large extent, and directly only slightly), and which has been seriously studied in India all these seven centuries by Muslim (and occasionally also by Hindu) scholars, a specimen of Arabic is given in a translation of the passage into Classical Arabic.

['] is the glottal stop—the *alif hamza* ; [']—the voiced pharyngeal spirant, the sound of the letter 'ayn ; ʃ, ʈ—Arabic (and other Semitic) 'emphatics'—sounds with velarization, like *sw*, *tw* ; ɣ—the Arabic *ghayn*, voiced velar or uvular spirant ; ð—voiced interdental spirant, Arabic *dhāl*, or English *th* as in *this*, *than* :

'insānun kāna, la-hu-bnāni. fa-qāla 'aʃyaru-humā li-
'abī-hi—yā 'ab-ī, 'a'ṭi-nī-l-qisma-l-laḏī yuṣību-nī min-
al-māli. fa-qasama la-humā ma'īṣata-hu.

II. BURUSHASKI

Burushaski, or Khajuna, is spoken by some 30,000 people in the principality of Hunza-Nagyr in the north of Kashmir. This is a language of unknown affinity. Connexion with Austric (Austro-Asiaic) on the one hand, and with the Caucasian languages on the other, have been suggested.

hin hirē altan yū bam. inē juṭ yī yūyar
One man's two sons were. That young son to-the-father
sēnnīmī—lē ayā, gūīmō gusē māl tsum jā-ar
said— O father, of-yourself this property-from to-me
dēškaltas, bīkih jā-ar jāū. inē hir īmō māl
falls, if to-me give-me. The man his-own property
tarang ittimī.
division did.

III. DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Specimens are given only of the four advanced Dravidian languages, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu, besides Brahui of Balochistan.

(III 1) Tamil :

The Tamil sound-system has some special characteristics. The alphabet, most incomplete of all Indian alphabets, indicates the

sound-system of Old Tamil of about the middle of the 1st millennium A. D., and it was created by taking letters from the South Indian Pallava script for Sanskrit as current in the Tamil Country in the 6th-7th centuries A. D. Old Tamil had no voiced stops, and no sibilants. The Old Tamil sounds were—

Vowels—*a ā, i ī, u ū, e ē, o ō, ai, au.*

Consonants—Guttural, *k, ṅ* ; Palatal, *c, ñ* ; Retroflex or Cerebral, *ṭ, ṇ* ; Dental, *t, n* ; Labial, *p, m* ; Alveolar, *l, ḷ* ; Voiced Cerebral Spirant, *z* ; Unvoiced Guttural Spirant, (*x = āytam*).

In Middle Tamil, after 1300 A. D., the Voiced Sounds of *g, j, ḍ, d, b* developed out of the corresponding unvoiced ones when they occurred after nasals, or when they were found singly within a word, flanked by a vowel on either side. The sound of the alveolar stop *t* became, when it occurred singly, a strongly trilled *r* ; and *-tt-* became *-ttr-*, and *-nt-* became *-ndr-*. The sibilants *ś* and *s* were developed out of *c*. Subsequently, in New or Modern Tamil, the intervocal voiced stops became spirantized—*k* > *-g-* became *-γ-* or *-h-*, *-t* > *-d-* became *-ḍ-*, *-ṭ* > *-ḍ-* became *-ṛ-*, *-p* > *-b-* became *-β-* or *-v-*, *-w-*. The final *-u* was, and still is, pronounced with spread lips.

(1 Ia) Old Tamil (*Ṣaṅgam* or *Caṅkam Tamiz*), of c. 500 A. D. (Translated by Prof. Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran of Madras and Annamalai Universities).

*oruvatku iruvar makkaḷ ; avar-il ilaiyōn—entāy ! en kūṭā
varu poruḷ tantika—enat tantaik-kurait-tanan. tantaiyum
avari-ṭai nāṭai-p-parikāram pakuttīntanan.*

(1 Ib) Modern Tamil or New Tamil : Standard Literary Form—

*oru manuṣan-ukku iraṇḍu kumār-ar-irundār-gaḷ. avar-gaḷ-il
ilaiyavan tagappan-ai nokki—tagappan-ē ! āsti-y-il enakku
varum paṅgei enakku-t-tara-veṇḍum, enrān. andappaḍi
avan avar-gaḷ-ukku-t-tān astiyai-p-paṅgittuk-koḍuttān.*

(1 II) Mālayālam or Kērala Speech—

*oru manuṣyan-nu raṇḍu makkaḷ uṇḍ-āy-irunnu. ad-il ilay-
avan appanōḍu—appā ! vastukkaḷ-il enikku var-ēṇḍunna
paṅgu tarēnamē, enna paraññu. avan-um mudaliye
avarkku pagudi-ceydu.*

(1 III) Kannaḍa or Karṇāṭaka Speech—

obba manuṣya-ni-ge ibbaru makkaḷ iddaru. avar-alli cikka-v-anu tande-ge—tandeyē ! āstiy-alli nana-ge vara-takka pālannu nana-ge koḍu. andāga badu-kanna avari-ge pāl-ittanu.

(1 IV) Telugu or Āndhra—

voka manuṣyu-ni-ki yiddaru kmārulu vundiri. vāri-lō cinna-vāḍu—ō taṇḍri ! āsti-lō nā-ku vaccē pālu yimm-ani, taṇḍri-tō ceppin-appuḍu āyan, vāri-ki tana āsti-ni pañci petṭenu.

(1 V) Brāhui (Kalāt, Balochistān)—

banday-as-e irā mār assur. oftīān cunakā mār tenā bāw-e pārē ki—bāwah, mālān giḍā-as ki kanā baṣx marek, kane ēte. ō tenā kaṭiā-e ōf ti-tō baṣx-kare.

IV. AUSTRIC (AUSTRO-ASIATIC) LANGUAGES

(IV 1) Kol or Munda Group :

(I) Hòṛ or Santali—

k', c', t', p' are the 'checked' stop sounds—they are just k, c, t, p with contact (*sparśa*), but no release (*mōkṣa*).

ɔ as in English *law*, æ as in South English *man* ; á is like English *a* in *again*, *China*.

mít' hōṛ-ræn barea koṛa-hōpōn-kin tahekan-tae-a. ar un-kin mōtōræ huḍiñic'-dō apat-æ metad-ea—a baba, iñ-ræ paraok' menak'-ak'-reak' bakhra dæn-æm-ka-tiñ-mæ. adō áidári-tæt'-æ hátiñ-at'-kin-a.

The other Kol languages, particularly those belonging to the Kherwal sub-group, like Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, Asur, Bir-hor etc., resemble Santali quite a good deal. Kurku in Berar, and Juang or Patua, Savara and Gadaba are slightly different from the Kol speeches.

(IV 2) Mon-Khmer Sub-group—Khasi of Assam :

The vowel y, with its value taken from Welsh by the Welsh Missionaries who applied the Roman Script to Khasi, is a short vowel like that of English *a* in *ago*, *China* (= ə).

la-don	u-wei	u-brīw,	u-ba	la-don
There was	one	man	who (= whose)	were
ār-ngut	ki-khūn	shin-rang.	u-ba	
two-persons	children	male.	He who	

khadduh	u	la-ong	ha	u-kypa	
last (= younger) he		said	to	father	
jong-u	—	ko-pa,	āi-noh	ha	ngā
his-own	—	father,	give-away	to	me
ka	bynta	ka-ba	hāp	ia	
the	share	which	falls	to	
ngā.	te	u	la-pyn-ia-bynta		
me.	Then	he	gave-away-dividing		
ha	ki	katha	u	don.	
to	them	whatever	he (= his) was.		

IV. SINO-TIBETAN SPEECH-FAMILY

(1) *Bod* (= *Bhoṭa* in Sanskrit : in Modern Tibetan, *Pö*, or *Phö*) or *Tibetan*.

There are numerous dialects : e. g. *Dbus* (or *ü*) i.e. Central Tibetan of Lhasa, *Kham* or Eastern Tibetan, *Ladakhi* or Western Tibetan, *Den-jong-kä* or *Sikkim Dialect*, *Lho-kä* or *Bhotan Dialect*, *Lahuli* and *Spiti Dialects*, *Balti*, etc. ; and a few more, like *Purik*, *Nyamkat*, *Jod*, *Bhotiya* of *Garhwal*, *Kagte* and *Sher-pa* of *Nepal*. Tibetan is written in an alphabet of Indian origin which was adopted for the language during the middle of the 7th century A. D.

Standard or Literary Tibetan, giving the transliteration of the orthography, together with a phonetic transcription of the pronunciation of present-day Central Tibetan, and with the English equivalent of each word, is given below :

mi	zig-la	bu	gñis	yod-pa-red.	de-dag-las
(mi	śikla	pu	ñi	yöpare.	te-dak-læ)
Man	to-one	son	two	were.	Among-them
chuñ-ba		des	rañ-gi	pha-la	žus-pa— ñaḥi yab,
(chuñ-wa		te	rañ-gi	phá-la	śü-pa— ña-i yap),
the-young-one	by-him	own		father-to	said— my father,
ñas	thob-pa-ḥi	nor-skal	ña-la	gnoñ-žig.	khos
(næ	thop-pai	nor-kal	ña-la	noñ-šik.	khö)
by-me	to-receive	wealth-share	to-me	give.	By-him
rañ-gi	nor	de-dag-la		bgos-so.	
rañ-gi	nor	te-dak-la		gö-so.)	
his-own	wealth	among-them		was-divided	

(2) *Himalayan Tibeto-Burman Speeches :*

These fall in 2 groups : (a) the Pure Tibeto-Burman Speeches, and (b) the 'Pronominalized' Tibeto-Burman Speeches, modified by Austric.

(a) Pure Tibeto-Burman Speeches of the Sub-Himalayan tracts. Within this group fall a number of speeches of Nepal and North-Eastern India, like Gurung, Magar, Murmi, Sunwār, Newārī, Pahrī and Toto. (Rong or Lepcha, spoken in Sikkim and Darjeeling, is now found to belong to the distant Naga group of Assam). Of these, Newārī alone is an advanced language with a fairly extensive literature going back to the 15th century at the latest. Newārī is still cultivated to some extent. The Eastern form of the North Indian script, as current in Nepal, Eastern U. P., Bihar, Assam, Bengal and Orissa, was used to write Newārī : now the Nagari is used in printing Newārī. A specimen of Newārī only is given below, with interlinear translation.

cha-mha	manuccha-yā	kāe	ma-cā	nī-mha	da-syā
One-person	man's	boy	child	two-persons	having-been
co-na.	cik-ci-mha	kāe	thao	babā-yā-ke—	
were.	The-small	by-son	his-own	father-to—	
ji-gu	aṁśa-bhāga	ji-ta	bi-ya-di-sa,	dhāka	
to-me	part-share	in-me	please-give,	having-said	
dhā-la.	dhāe-tunū	babā-mhā	aṁśa-bhāga	bi-la.	
he-said.	A-little-after	by-father	part-share	gave.	

(b) The 'Pronominalized' Himalayan Tibeto-Burman Dialects—

They are found in two areas—(i) Western, and (ii) Eastern. The Western Dialects in this group are Kanawārī, Kanāshī, Man-chāṭā or Paṭnī, Chambā Lāhulī, Rangolī (or Gondlā or Tinan), Bunān, Rangkas or Saukiya Khun, Dārmiyā, Chaudāṅsi, Byangsi and Janglī ; and the Eastern Dialects are Dhīmāl, Limbu, Yākhā, Bāhing, Rāi, Vāyu, Chepāng, Kusund, Bhrāmu, Thāk-sya and Khambu (with 15 other small dialects connected with the last). Very small numbers of people use these backward languages, which lack any literature.

(3) *North Assam Speeches :*

These are spoken to the North of the Brahmaputra in the NEFA territory. They are Aka or Hrusso, Abor-Miri and Dafia,

and Mishmī in 3 sub-dialects—Chulikatā or Taying Mishmi, Digāru Mishmi and Mīju Mishmi. These have no numerical or cultural importance.

(4) Boḍo Group.

The Boḍo language in the Tibeto-Burman group was at one time spread over the entire Brahmaputra valley and in the adjoining tracts, as well as North and East Bengal. Now its terrain is no longer a solid *bloc*—its place has been largely taken by Indo-Aryan—Assamese and Bengali, and it is found confined to scattered groups of people among whom the language has already started to change and disintegrate. These are the most important Boḍo dialects : Rājbangsī or Koch in North Bengal, now virtually extinct ; Mech or Boḍo to the south of Bhotan in Assam ; Rabha, near the Western bend of the Brahmaputra ; Garo (or Achik) in the Garo Hills ; Lalung, Hojai and Boḍo, in Gauhati district ; Dima-sa, to the North of Silchar ; Plains Kachari and Hill Kachari ; and Ṭipra of Tripura State.

The Boḍos are a very intelligent and progressive people, but until recently they appear never to have cultivated their language. Through Christian missionary initiative, a small Christian literature has developed in Garo, using now the Roman script to write and print the language (formerly the Bengali script was used). There is now a *Boḍo Movement* in Assam supported by a number of educated and influential Boḍos, which is seeking to revive Boḍo culture (in dance and music, and in poetry and literature), and a literary journal in Boḍo printed in the Bengali-Assamese script was started. The Ṭipra dialect was spoken by the ruling classes in Tripura State, who, however, for the last 400 years have been cultivating Bengali. Attempts now are being made to develop Tipra literature. Boḍo-speakers have merged largely among Bengali and Assamese speaking peoples. Now over 600,000 people speak the various Boḍo dialects.

(5) Naga Group.

The Nagas form a compact group in the extreme North-East of India, and there are some Naga people in Burma also. The Nagas till recently were in a very backward state, but through Christian missionary effort Christianity (and with it education) has spread among them considerably, and they are now very conscious

of their tribal and linguistic solidarity. But their language is now split up into a number of dialects which are frequently not mutually intelligible. The Bible (in parts) has been translated into some of them. There are three main groups of Naga dialects—(1) Western—Angami, Sema, Rengma, Kezhama ; (2) Central—Ao, Lhota, Torsa, Thukumi and Yachumi ; and (3) Eastern—8 dialects like the Angwanku. The Roman alphabet has been applied by the missionaries to write and print the Naga dialects. Only one Naga speech, the Rong or Lepcha, in far-away Sikkim and Darjeeling, developed a script of its own modelled on the Tibetan, with a slight literature of Buddhist inspiration ; and some Christian literature was also printed in this script, which has been put in type.

The total number of Nagas would come up to about 300,000.

(6) Mixed or Intermediate Groups of Tibeto-Burman :

(a) Mikir, in Mikir Hills, is a speech which falls between Naga and Bodo ; and

(b) Kuki-Naga dialects, Mao Naga and some 8 more.

(7) The Kachin group of Tibeto-Burman—

The Kachin or Singpho Dialect, in North-Western Assam and in Burma, in the valley of the Hukong river. It is more a language of Burma than of India.

(8) Kuki or Chin (Kuki-Chin) Group—

Kuki is the Indian (Bengali-Assamese) name, found from the beginning of the 16th century ; and Chin or Khyang is the Burmese name for this group ; and Kuki-Chin is a composite name. Kuki-Chin dialects are spoken in Burma, and in the Lushei Hills and Manipur and Tripura states as well as Assam in India. Lushei has a little Christian literature printed in the Roman script. The most important language of this group is *Meithei* (*Meitei*) or Manipuri (over 300,000 people). It has a respectable literature which goes back to at least a thousand years from now, when the Meitheis appear to have been brought (at least in part) within the orbit of Brahmanical Hinduisim. The language had acquired an alphabet of its own, based on the Indian alphabet, and this continued in use right down to middle of the 18th century, when the Meitheis adopted Gaudīya or Bengali Vaishnavism and took up the Bengali script. This is now used in writing and printing *Meithei* or Manipuri.

Specimen of Meithei, with interliner translation—

mi	a-ma-gi	ma-cā	ni-pā	a-ni
Man	of-one-person	his-children	male	two
lai-rāmmi.	ma-buñā-ñi-gi	ma-rak-tā	ma-nāo	
there-were.	Of-them-both	among	his-son	
a-tom-bā	a-du-nā	ma-pā-dā	hāi—	
the-younger	by-him	to-his-father	said—	
pābā,	ai-nā	phañ-ga-da-bā	lān	
father,	by-me	to-be-received	property	
saruk,	a-du	ai-ñon-dā	pi-bi-yu.	
share	that	to-me	please-give.	
a-du-dā	ma-pa-nā	ma-khoi	a-ñi-gi	
Then	by-his-father	to-them	of-two-persons	
da-mak	lan-thum	yēl-lē.		
for-sake	property	divided.		

(9) Mran-mā (Byammā) or Burmese—

It is an important Tibeto-Burman language, with many dialects. Its history goes back to the 11th century A. D., when it was first reduced to writing with an Indian alphabet obtained by the Burmese from the Austric Mons of Central and South Burma. The orthography gives the pronunciation of the 11th century, and Burmese retains this old spelling but the modern pronunciation has changed very considerably. Burmese is spoken by over 12 millions, and it is the official language of Burma.

Below, the Burmese passage is given in (1) a Roman transliteration of the Burmese orthography, (2) the current Standard Burmese pronunciation, and (3) a word for word English translation.

lū	ta-yok-nhik	sāh	nhac-yok	rhi-eñ.
(lu	ta-yauk'-nhék'	θa	nhit'-yauk'	šī-i.
Man	one-person-to	son	two-persons	(sentence-completion).
ñay-so	sāh-ka	mi-mi-eñ	a-bhū-kui	ī-kai-
(noi-δau	θa-ga	mi-mi-i	a-pha-go	i-gæ-)
The-small-one	son-said	his-own	father-to	this
sui	pro-le-eñ—	a-bha,	kwu-nuip	-ra-thuik-so
(δo	pyao-lai-i—	a-pha	cu-nok'	ya-thek'-δau)
in-this-way	said—	father,	to-the-slave (me)	to-be-received
uccā-paccañh	myāh-kui	kwu-nuip-kui	pe-pa	thui-a-khā
(auksā-pyitsi	miyāh-go	cū-nok-go	pai-pa.	tho-a-kha)
property	in-all	to-me	give-away.	Then

a-bha	prac-sū-ka	mi-mi-eñ	uccā-paccañh
(a-pha	pyit-θu-ga	mi-mi-i	auksā-pyitsi)
father	being-in-it	his-own	property •
myāh-kui	kwe-rye	peh-luik-eñ.	
(miyā-go	kuei-ywe	pe-lek'-i.)	
in-all	having-divided	had-given.	

Of the various Burmese dialects, Mru is spoken in South-East Bengal (Chittagong Hill Tracts, in East Pakistan), and Rakhaing or Yakhaing, i.e. Arakanese, is also found in East Bengal.

(10) The Siamese-Chinese Branch of Sino-Tibetan—

The Thai (Dai) speeches form an important branch of Sino-Tibetan, and Thai speeches were at one time spoken in Central and South China. Apart from some Thai dialects which are still current in South China, the following are the main forms of Thai :

(a) Thai or Siamese proper (the oldest specimens of Siamese Thai are in the inscription of King Rām Gamhæng of Sukhodai, dating from the second half of the 13th century); (b) Lao; (c) Shan (Rham), in Burma and Siam; (d) Ahom, a form of Shan, was established in India when in 1228 A. D. the Ahom people came from North Burma and conquered Eastern Assam, and gave their name to the province or state which had the Sanskrit names *Prāgjyōtiṣa* and *Kāmarūpa* (Rham=Yham=Aham or Ahom, written also as Asam, whence Assam). The Ahoms in Assam kept up their language until the end of the 18th century. Ahom has now become extinct, but a number of Ahom books, on history specially, have survived—the Ahoms now have merged among the Aryan-Assamese-speakers; (e) Khamti, spoken by a small tribe in North-Eastern Assam and in North Burma, and a few small dialects, connected with Khamti, which are found in North-Eastern Assam, like Nora, Tairong, Aitonia and Thākiyāl.

(It is to be noted that a recent view regarding the origin and affinities of the Dai or Thai speeches is that they are not Sino-Tibetan and have no genetic relationship with Chinese and the rest—although Chinese has profoundly influenced Thai in its vocabulary. Thai is now proposed to be affiliated to a distinct family—the *Kadai* family, which at one time was current over the whole of Indo-China and South-China, including the Island of Hainan.)

[B]

THE LITERATURES

GENERAL SURVEY

Some general survey or *ensemble* view of the character of the literatures in the Modern Indian Languages may be made as an introduction to the study of these. Modern Indian Aryan Literatures are just a continuation of Middle Indo-Aryan or Apabhramsa and Prakrit, and Sanskrit literatures, like the New Indo-Aryan languages being just a continuation of Middle and Old Indo-Aryan. For the Dravidian languages, we have a similar continuity of the literary styles and traditions which were established in Old Tamil, Old Kannada and Old Telugu before 1000 A. D. These styles and traditions in early Dravidian literatures were mainly pan-Indian, and Sanskritic : and the stream of the oldest Tamil *Saṅgam* tradition was being merged into this ever-growing pan-Indian tradition from even the Old Tamil period.

As in most early literatures, the subject matter is religious, largely Hindu or Brahmanical, and to some extent Jaina (as in Western India—in Early Gujarati and Rajasthani, and in Early Tamil and Early Kannada) ; only in Bengal we have survivals of a Buddhist literature in its latest Mahāyāna phase. The literatures started with inheritances from Apabhramsa and Prakrit and Sanskrit ; and then on the religious side a Brahmanical revival found its fullest expression in the literatures in Modern Indian languages, both Aryan and Dravidian—after the Turki conquest and the cataclysm it involved in the 11th-13th centuries had subsided, particularly in Northern India. There were also a number of local cults and stories and legends, which were quite popular as submerged forms of pre-Aryan religion. But these were rapidly becoming Brahmanized and were also treated in the various Modern Indian languages, in the earlier phases of their literatures.

The literatures of mediaeval India, in both the Aryan and Dravidian speeches, have largely treated in great poems and in lyric poetry, as well as in prose works in some cases, the heritage of ancient Indian legends and tales as well as philosophy, together with the various local tales, cults and creeds. The atmosphere is very largely that of the *Vedānta* and *Bhakti* Schools—of *Jñāna*, *Karma*, and *Yōga*, and all other great ideas and ideals and traditions and practices of the Brahmanical philosophy and religion. Jaina philosophy and story-telling have their place also in the

literatures of some areas. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* form the back-ground, just as the Bible, the Legends of the Saints, and later Greco-Roman myths, legends and history, as well as tales from the Germanic and Celtic (and Slav) worlds, form the back-ground of the literatures of Mediaeval Europe. A knowledge of this ancient Indian back-ground or basis is indispensable for an appreciation of Modern Indian Literature, particularly in its earlier phases ; and with a basis or preliminary knowledge of Sanskrit and the world of Sanskrit Literature, the appreciation of Mediaeval and Modern Indian Literature (even for Urdu, in its earlier as well as popular phases) will be easier and fuller.

Cross divisions cannot be avoided, in considering both subject-matter and treatment. A mediaeval French poet divided the subject-matter of French romance into three groups :—(i) *the Matter of France*, (ii) *the Matter of Britain*, and (iii) *the Matter of Rome*. The first of these refers to the stories about Charlemagne and his circle, which were thought to be exclusively French ; the second, to the Arthurian romances, which first evolved in Britain ; and the third to the classical world of ancient Rome—“Rome the Great”, which included also the stories of ancient Greece which were available from Roman or Latin sources (Jean Bodel, end of the 12th century, as quoted by W. H. Schofield in his “English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer”, London 1906, p. 147: ‘Ne sont que trois matières a nul home intendent, De France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant’). About Early Modern Indian Literature, we may say that on the side of story-telling—romance and narrative poetry—there were, to start with, two distinct *matters* or cycles in almost every province, viz.—(i) *the Matter or Cycle of Ancient India*, as preserved primarily in Sanskrit, and (ii) *the Matter or Cycle of the Province or Linguistic Area concerned—the Matter of Mediaeval India*, which sometimes was found treated not in one language but in many, and which was thus in some cases inter-provincial or pan-Indian. Some of the most distinctive or characteristic things in the different Modern Indian literatures belong to this *Matter of Mediaeval India*. Then, from the 16th century onwards, particularly from the 17th century, some of the North Indian languages like Hindustani or Hindi and Bengali, Panjabi and Sindhi, under Muhammadan inspiration, developed a new matter or cycle, (iii) *the Matter (or Cycle) of the Islamic World of Persia and Arabia*. In the Urdu form of the Hindi speech, and in the earlier Dakhni, this became most prominent,

naturally. In Bengali, from the beginning of the 17th century onwards, we have a respectable literature of this type, treating of Muslim religious, mythological, legendary and romantic themes. A thin stream of this is noticeable in other literatures also, wherever there are Muslims, whether in the Tamil Country, or in North Bihar, in the Maratha Country or in Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Early Literature in the Modern Indian languages was either *Lyrical*, or *Narrative*. The first dealt, naturally, with love and other sentiments, or religious devotion, subjectively ; and second treated objectively mythological tales, and themes from the Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas*, as well as medieval heroic romantic and devotional. In Early Bengali literature, these two types were known as *pada* (song or poem) and *maṅgala* (narrative story, particularly of a religious implication or application). Already in the Sanskrit *Gīta-gōvinda* of Jayadēva (Bengal, end of 12th century), these words are found for the lyrical and narrative parts of the poem describing the Loves of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The oldest literature of Tamil, which in a number of matters shows considerable originality and divergence from Sanskrit (e. g. in the classification of its themes in poetical composition), divides literature similarly into *akam*, i. e. inner or subjective lyrical literature, and *puram*, i. e., outer or objective descriptive or narrative literature. The Persian terms *bazm* or 'assembly' and *razm* or 'war', to mean respectively lyrical or reflective and narrative or romantic poetry, are used in Urdu to differentiate between these two forms of literary composition.

The *Matter of Ancient India* in Early Modern Indian literatures need not detain us. This consists of adaptations or translations which most languages show, in verse, of the Indian National epics the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Bhāgavata* and other *Purāṇas*, besides of some of the great books of Brahmanism (relating to *Bhakti* and *Yōga*, for instance), which form the Bible of the Hindu masses all over the country ; and these translations or adaptations in the various languages still keep the Hindu traditions alive and effective among the people. The lives of the Vaishnava and other saints and devotees of ancient and mediaeval times also form part of this *Matter of Ancient India*, in so far as these are directly linked with the Hinduism of the *Purāṇas*.

The movement to translate or adapt in the languages of the people the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other texts of Brahmanical Hinduism, which we note all over India, is to be

looked upon as part of a sort of *Hindu or Brahmanical Renaissance* through the resuscitation of Sanskrit literature which was noticeable from the 15th century as a new force. There was an earlier resuscitation or revival just after the Turki conquest in the 13th century. It began some centuries earlier in the Dravidian languages, e. g. Telugu and Tamil and Kannada, and was operative in full force in the 16th and 17th. The direct impetus to this Renaissance came from the challenge of Islām which Hindudom had to face, after the clash with the Muslim Turks started from the 11th century onwards. Akbar the Great, (who ruled from 1554 to 1605, consciously or unconsciously, fell in line with this movement for a national cultural rehabilitation in India, and he made the Persian scholars in his court translate the *Mahābhārata* and a few other great Sanskrit works into Persian, to bring them before his Indian Muslim nobility, of Turki and Iranian origin, and to propagate their study among Muslim scholars, whether in India or outside India. He made his best artists illustrate them on a magnificent scale : their pictures show quite a revival of the Hindu tradition through Art, and showed for the first time a conscious attempt at an artistic representation of ancient Hindu India which was historically correct. Emperor Jahāngīr patronized Hindu astrologers, and Shāh Jahān also supported Sanskrit scholars. Shāh Jahān's son Dārā Shikōh is well known for his Hindu sympathies and for his study of Sanskrit philosophy. He caused the *Upaniṣads* to be translated into Persian, and wrote a book in Persian (the *Majma'u-l-Baḥrain* or 'the gathering of the Two Oceans') showing the harmony of Hindu thought (*Vedānta*) and Islamic mysticism (*Taṣawwuf*) ; and he further had this book translated into Sanskrit for the use of Hindu scholars (the *Samudra-Saṅgama* or 'the Confluence of the Oceans'). The Hindus from all this were strengthened in their culture, and we have the case of a Brahman from the Panjab, Candar-bhān (Candra-bhānu) of Lahore (c. 1650), who was a finished poet in Persian, declaring his unabated adherence to the faith and the way of his fathers, and through his adherence to *Vedānta* and *Taṣawwuf* his faith in Universalism. In one of his Persian poems he says : 'I have seen with the eye of Unity everything in this world which is full of diversities. Nothing came to my eye which I considered foreign or strange. Excepting the truth I have not intimately mingled with anything else.' Through contact with Persian literature bringing some news of the outer world, a new kind of cosmopolitanism was

already developing in India ; and this was strengthened in the 18th century and early 19th century by the impact of European literature, thought and science.

The renderings of the Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas* and other texts form a common inheritance, and an inheritance of the most far-reaching importance, in the literatures in all the Modern Indian Languages, and they form also the most obvious and effective link among them. It is through the common heritage of the *Matter of Ancient India* that the stories of Rāma and Sītā, of the Pāṇḍavas, of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and of Śiva and Umā and the other great mythological and legendary stories (e.g. of Sāvitṛī and Satyavān, of Nala and Damayantī, of Śakuntalā, of Mālatī and Mādhava, of the devotees of God like Dhruva and Prahlāda and Śukadēva, of the Ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, etc., etc.), with their romantic, mystical and devotional as well as moral and didactic import and application, have permeated among the masses, and have brought the ideas of Hindu philosophy—particularly the *Vedānta* and *Bhakti* for approaching the Unseen Reality through knowledge or faith or both—to the door of all, and have moulded a pan-Indian Hindudom as a single cultural and artistic unit. As being within the bosom or orbit of Sanskrit literature, Mediaeval and Modern Indian literatures have among themselves a complete understanding and mutual appreciation. And although there may be in some cases a little novelty (e.g. in the *Śaṅgam* literature of Old Tamil, and in Kol or Munda love-poetry), there is not the slightest sense of being in a different world when we pass from one Modern Indian literature into another.

Next we come to the *Matter of Mediaeval India*. This consists of different cycles of romantic or heroic stories which had their origin from the time of the rise of the New Indo-Aryan languages and literatures. Some of them were stories of mediaeval or ancient origin, particularly in Bengali, at times even go back to pre-Aryan sources, which were orally current among the people, and then they were given the imprimatur of Brahmanism and were rendered in the Modern Indian languages and were grafted into a composite Hindu tradition. Thus we have, in Bengal, the cycles of stories relating to Lāṅkā, the princely hero (in the *Dharma-maṅgala* romances); to the Rājā Gōpī-candra or Gōvinda-candra and his mother Mayanā-matī, his two wives Adunā and Padunā, and his Guru the Siddha-yogi Hādi-pā—a story which spread

from Bengal as far west as Western Panjab and as far South as the Maratha country; to the devoted wife Bihulā and her husband Lakhindhara (Lakshmīndhara) and Manasā, the Snake-goddess (in the *Manasā-maṅgala* or *Padmā-purāṇa* poems); and to the merchant of Bengal, Dhanapati, his wives Khullanā and Lahanā and his son Śrīmanta; as well as to the stories of the huntsman Kālakētu, and his wife Phullarā (in the *Caṇḍī-maṅgala* poems). In Orissa, we have stories about the Kings of Orissa, particularly the highly romantic story of King Purushōttama-dēva and Princess Padmāvati (in the *Kāñci-Kūvēri* romance). In the Awadhi area, we find quite a number of romantic tales which were treated specially by the early Muslim writers of Awadhi, and one story, that of Padminī of Chitor, was adapted in novel way by the Sūfī poet Malik Muhammad Jāyasi (1540): a whole series of romantic poems with the lovers who are Hindus, have been composed in this Awadhi Sūfī tradition by Muslim writers, beginning from the end of the 14th century. So in Rajasthan and the North Indian Rajput world, we have a series of stories of Rajput romance and chivalry which were treated in great poems in Rajasthani (early Marwari or Ḍiṅgal) and in Braj-bhakha as well as in Bundeli forms of Western Hindi (e. g. the *Ālhā-Ūdal* romance). Panjab also had its romantic stories (relating to *Rājā Risālū*, and to the lovers *Hir-Ranjhā* and *Sohnī-Mahīwāl*, etc.). Finally the Maratha country has its ballads (*Pōwāḍās*) relating to the Maratha heroes from Śivājī onwards (17th to 19th centuries). A number of exquisite romantic ballads were also written in Bengali from the 17th century, and these have been published (e. g. the Ballads from Mymensingh and Noakhali, compiled by Chandra Kumar De and others, and published and translated into English by Dinesh Chandra Sen from the University of Calcutta). We have similarly a number of fine romantic ballads relating to the early Rajput rulers of Sindh, in the Sindhi language, and also some fine mediaeval love-stories, which have partly been translated into English (by C. A. Kincaid, e.g. the Story of *Uḍērō-lāl*, and that of King *Canēsar* and Queen *Lilā* and the handsome *Kāunrō* who love the King). Romantic and heroic ballads and tales (apart from the classical epics and romances of the Sangam age of Old Tamil) relating to local heroes of Kērala, of Tamil-nāḍ, of Andhra-dēśa and of Karṇāṭaka are known in Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada; but not much has been published about them, particularly in English.

The *Matter of the Islamic World*, as in Early Bengali, in Dakhni, in Urdu, in Panjabi and in Sindhi, as well as in Kashmiri, consists of stories relating to what may be called Muslim Myth and Legends (of both Arab and Persian origin). We have here in the first instance the story of the Prophet of Islam with all miraculous embellishments, and then stories about the heroes of ancient Arabia (including those of the pre-Muhammadan age, the *Jāhiliyya* or the period of 'Ignorance', with contacts with Islam), and of ancient pre-Islamic Persia (as in the *Shāh-nāmāh*, which, curiously enough, has always been looked upon in India as a Muslim classic), the legends of Sikandar or Alexander the Great and of other Greek personages as they came to India through the Arabic and Persian, Old Arab and Persian tales, the stories of the *Arabian Nights*, and, above all, the story of the tragic fight at *Kerbela*, leading to the death of the prophet Muhammad's grandson Husain at the hands of the army of the godless Arab Omayyad emperor Yazīd. These, together with works on the doctrines, the theology, the legal institutions and social prescriptions of Islām, present a mass of literature for Indian Muslims to draw from. Sūfī philosophy and spiritual culture also form part of it. The Hindus of India also, if they chose to read it, were not debarred from this literature, as it was in Indian languages. Through this *Matter of the Islamic World*, it is to be seen that a partial integration of the Indian mind with the thought and culture of Muslim Persia and Arabia took place; and Urdu and Sindhi, and to some extent Early Bengali and Panjabi and Kashmiri literatures acted as the Indian mediums for this.

Certain literary genres were well-established in the North Indian languages. One is the *Bārah-Māsiyā* or '12-Month Poems', poems describing in a series of pictures, so to say, for the 12 months of the year, the sufferings of lovers pining through separation, or their joys in union. Another is the *Cautisā* or 'Poems of 34', with the initials of the first words of the lines consisting of the 34 consonants in the Indian alphabet successively, similarly describing either the pangs of separation or the joys in union of lovers, or praising some Divinity. Where the Persian alphabet became established as among the Sūfīs in the Panjab, the Indian *Cautisā* became the Persian *Sī-ḥarfī* or 'Poems of the 30-letters'.

The descriptions of the seasons, of fights, of love-making, of feminine beauty etc., in all early New Indo-Aryan (as well as Dravidian) literature, were mostly along stereotyped lines borrowed

from Sanskrit. There is of course the old Tamil tradition in the oldest literature of Tamil the *Śaṅgam* literature, but this was gradually abandoned in Tamil. But some new types of treatment developed in the different Modern North-Indian languages. Thus we have in the North-Indian languages like Early Hindi and Rajasthani the *Nakha-Sikha-Vaṇana* or the minute description of the beauty of lady 'from the nails of her feet to the tresses on her head'. These are Questions and Answers among lovers, or their friends men and women. The long narrative poems begin with the praise of some Divinity—either a Hindu God or Goddess, or in the case of Muslim writers, of Allāh and his Prophet; and they revel in set descriptions of all sorts—of persons, places, scenes, situations and natural phenomena. The atmosphere can be seen easily from a work like Jyōtīśvara Ṭhākura's *Varṇa-ratnākara* (in Maithil, before 1325 A. D.), which is a guide and a handbook of literary descriptions and clichés culled mainly from Sanskrit literature for the use of poets and story-tellers.—a continuation of the customs of introducing set descriptions which is found in Jaina and other Prakrit writings, called *Vaṇṇas* or *Vaṇṇaas* (*Varṇas*, *Varṇakas*); and works like the Sanskrit *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, with their gorgeous descriptive passages, often furnished the model to all Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian.

Rime came to be fully established in the poetry of all the New Indo-Aryan languages. Contrasted with Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan) and Prakrit (Middle Indo-Aryan), the use of rime was a very note-worthy thing in both Apabhraṃśa (late Middle Indo-Aryan) and *Bhāṣā* (New Indo-Aryan). The development of rime appears to have been spontaneous in Indo-Aryan, as much as in Iranian (Persian) and in the Romance or Neo-Latin languages; and by 500 A. D, rime seems to be coming in use in Apabhraṃśa, and then it was firmly established in Apabhraṃśa. It was then duly inherited by New Indo-Aryan. Rime invaded later Sanskrit poetry also, though to a very limited extent. The poems of *Ghaṭa-karpara* (c. 400 A. D.) show well-developed rime, some times involving 3 or 4 syllables. We note rime also in the *Padas* or lyrics in Jayadēva's *Gīta-gōvinda*, where it is obviously based on Apabhraṃśa or Early New Indo-Aryan rime. Rime is found also in the Dravidian speeches, though it was not characteristic of the Dravidian languages in their early phases. Rime thus can be taken to be a common trait in the poetic diction of all New

Indo-Aryan languages. In recent years, however, through English influence, unrimed verse-forms (like the blank verse, and *vers libre*), have come to be introduced and well-established in all forms of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian literature. Complicated rime-arrangements in poetic stanzas have also been adopted in most Indian languages through the influence of English poetry. The influence of Persian in the development of rime in New Indo-Aryan cannot also wholly be ruled out. In any case, Urdu poetry early took up the Persian pattern, and became even in its form a reflex of the latter language.

Prose was very rarely cultivated in most of the Modern Indian languages in their early periods. Exceptions are Early Assamese, which developed a very simple yet vigorous prose style in its histories, of Sino-Tibetan (Ahom) inspiration (the *Buranji* literature), from the 17th century ; Braj-bhasha, which from the 17th century also developed a Vaishnava hagiographical and biographical literature in prose ; and Early Gujarati, where the Jains created a rich and varied narrative literature in prose. In Marathi also we have a special literature of chronicles and letters and despatches in prose, from the 17th century. In Early Panjabi too (in Hindki or West Panjabi, and then in East Panjabi) we have a Sikh biographical literature in prose. Prose was used, but it was generally confined to letters, and to legal and other documents. Bengali prose (apart from what we see in epistolary compositions going to the 16th century) started from the 18th century, and that too largely under Portuguese missionary auspices.

An independent tradition of prose, however, is found in all the South Indian languages. This is both religious and secular. A fine style of prose historical narratives, very natural, developed in Telugu in the 17th century.

In the 18th-19th centuries, through Christian Missionary as well as official English lead, eagerly followed by Indian writers and educationists, prose came to be fully established in all the Modern Indian languages.

One thing we have to note in connexion with the literatures in the Modern Indian languages. They were never isolated from each other. There was more often the study and adaptation of the original works in a particular language rather than regular translations. This led to a good deal of direct influence. In some cases, the works of a particular writer in Early Indo-

Aryan literature passed from one area to another, and the language was modified in this movement ; and the original writer at times came to be regarded as a writer in the new linguistic area where he was taken and adapted and transformed, wholly or partially. Gōrakha-nātha, Vidyāpati, Kabīr, Mīrā Bāī and others are cases in point. Great stories of adventure or romance or piety also travelled from one end of the country to another, although these were not from the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* presenting a common heritage for the whole of India. Thus, the story of Gōrakha-nātha and his cycle of *Siddha-gurus* or miracle-working Yōgis spread all over India from Bengal to the Panjab and Maharashtra, and even into the Dravidian country. Writings of the Bengal *Siddhas* in modified Bengali have been found in Rajasthan. The story of Padminī came to Bengal from North India, and the story of Bihulā and Lakhindhar passed from Bengal into Uttar Pradesh. The vast plains of India were a most suitable field for passage of literature and ideas without let or hindrance, in ancient, mediaeval as well as modern times. Sanskrit literature even before 1000 A. D. had acquired a pan-Indian position ; and so did also some forms of Modern Indian literature in mediaeval times.

The range of Early Modern Indian literature, however, was rather limited, if we compare it with that of Early Modern European literatures, particularly from after the Renaissance, or with that of the Islamic world as in Arabic and Persian. The real Renaissance in India came through the contact with English literature and European culture, from the early part of the 19th century ; and from this time we have a new orientation and a totally new development of Modern Indian literatures. Religious poetry, mystic and devotional, which is found in such abundance in the Assamese, Bengali, Hindi (as in Kabīr and his school of *Sant* poets, in Tulasīdāsa, in Mīrā Bāī), Panjabi and Marathi,—poems in the old Hindu and other traditions, and also in the Sūfī tradition in Panjabi and Sindhi—reached a supreme height in Early Modern Indian literature. Some of the great narrative poems on ancient as well as mediaeval Indian themes are really great. Some philosophical works, like the Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and some of the old Tamil Classics, have also their place.

The *Drama* was known—it was played without a proper stage, but generally it did not develop as a literary form in the New Indo-Aryan languages—except in some religious dramas of a

primitive type composed in Assamese from the 15th century, and in Nepal in the mixed Bengali, Maithili and Awadhi speeches (with stage directions in the Tibeto-Burman Newari) in the 17th century. Herein was a distinct set-back in New Indo-Aryan from the achievement of Sanskrit literature. The New Indian Drama which developed during the second half of the 19th century is largely of European (English) inspiration, though the Sanskrit drama had some influence at its foundation.

The absence of a prose literature of information, even of a purely scientific or informative character, was a great drawback for the Indian languages. The little literature that was available on the arts and sciences was mostly in verse. This tradition has been carried down to our day, when, for example, in Bengali we have had a book on law, 'the Friend of the Lawyer', *Moktār-Suhṛd*, and one on Homoeopathy, *Homioṇāthi-Darṇa*, or 'the Mirror of Homoeopathy', in verse : dictionaries, medical books, works on accounting are known in verse, and even a weekly newspaper all in verse at one time came out in Hindi.

Contact with the European spirit through English literature brought in a real Indian Renaissance, and gave a new course to the literature in Modern Indian languages. English literature itself, and the literatures of Ancient Greece and Rome, of Italy and France and Germany, and later on of Russia and Scandinavia (from the 20th century), which were brought to the door of the English-knowing Indians, revolutionized the attitude to life and literature, and inaugurated the current phase or modern phase in Indian literature. This contact with the European mind first began in Bengal, and by the middle of the 19th century, the emancipation or modernization of the mind of Bengal and of Bengali literature had already begun. European methods of literary approach were eagerly adopted. The drama, the novel, the short-story, and the essay were born ; prose flourished, and gradually an expressive and nervous Bengali prose style became established during the sixties of the last century. The European type of blank verse, and verse forms like the Italian Sonnet were introduced. We have an astonishing *floraison* of literature, in Bengali at first, and then gradually in the other languages, as European education through the English schools and colleges and the universities began to shape the mind of the *intelligentsia* ; and India, as much as in the Physical Sciences, became linked up with the Modern World in Literature

and the Humanities and the Human Sciences also. Rabindranath Tagore, awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1913, became the symbol of this new spirit in Indian Literature, as Jagadish Chandra Bose became in Science. Our intimate contact with English literature has been of the greatest value in modernizing the mind of India and in developing Modern Indian literature.

It will be seen that the influence of Modern Bengali literature, with its ideal of integrating an India one and indivisible with the rest of the World, has been, after English literature, one of the most potent forces in Modern Indian literature as a whole, in all the various languages. At least three Bengali writers have become pan-Indian in their effective influence : Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, and Sarat Chandra Chatterji ; and there are a few other names also, though only less prominent or important. The influence of Rabindranath Tagore is steadily on the increase, both in the North and in the South ; his true interpretation of life in India, his universalism and internationalism which go hand in hand with his intense love for India and her peoples and her great culture, and his sensing of the great Reality or Truth behind life—all these, and many other things, have made him the representative Poet, Novelist, Short-Story Writer, Essayist, Educationist, Constructive Social Worker and Thought-leader in Modern Indian literature, ensuring also his place as one of the greatest figures in World Literature, besides being one of India's great Musical Composers and Painters.

It has also to be noted that in the Indian Cultural Renaissance through contact with the West, India's past had to play an equally great part. Sanskrit has been a great heritage which India never lost ; and the European spirit through English literature, and the profundity of Indian thought as well as the cultured mentality that is behind the Indian Way of Life, became complimentary forces in India's self-expression in the modern age. The study and appreciation of Sanskrit and Indian thought, and also of Indian letters and Indian art, by the advanced peoples of the West, put heart in Indians. Sanskrit, to quote the words of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, has become for India her "symbol of seniority among the peoples of the world." The attitude of the best thought-leaders of the present age in India (among whom we can mention four who are most conspicuous—Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan),

who are also responsible for a great deal of India's modern creative literature and creative endeavour, is to effect, for the benefit of India as well as of Humanity, a combination of the best elements in both Indian and European civilizations : to remain firm, so far as India is concerned, in the *Weltanschauung* created by her philosophers, poets and men of letters, and at the same time to receive of the best, not only from the intellectual and the scientific but also from the artistic and spiritual achievements of Europe and America ; and to hold up before the nations the ideals of India as something which the thinking part of the world cannot ignore : India's sense of an Ultimate Reality behind life, and her conviction that this Reality in its essential nature cannot be dogmatized in a hide-bound theological system ; her acknowledgment of sorrow and suffering, which it is the avowed duty of philosophy to try to remove ; her faith in the freedom of mind and thought, and her repugnance to the use of force or fraud to bring about conformity to any set ideology ; her conviction that different religious experiences are true and great and useful as different paths to the Ultimate Truth ; her insistence upon the diversity of paths in the quest, whether of knowledge, or faith, or work, or self-discipline, as being all for the same goal ; her practical work of bringing together peoples of various degrees of progress into one composite, integrated whole ; her sense of the sacredness of all life, and of the need for an all-embracing Mercy and an active Good-doing ;—all these leading to a spirit of Universalism and to a great Tolerance in the domain of thought and action, from the passive spirit of Non-injury (*Ahiṃsā*), to the active spirit of pity and love (*Karuṇā*), and of Good-doing (*Maitrī*) to all living creatures.

Below attempts have been made to give brief sketches of the literatures of all the 13 National Languages of Modern India which have been given a place in the 8th Schedule at the end of the Constitution of India (in addition to Sanskrit, which brings the list to 14). They used to be described as *Regional Languages*, among which *Hindi in Nagari characters* was declared to be the *Official Language*, side by side with English. All of these are now called *National Languages*, and an Indian citizen has the right to address the State and to get a reply in any of these. The *National Languages* are in use in the various States, and they, along with

Sanskrit (which is not spoken by any community in India as its home language, but is universally acknowledged to be the basic language vital for the cultural as well as political unity of India) are now all encouraged by the Central Indian Government (e. g. through the *Sāhitya Akāḍemi*, the All-India National Institution for the devolpment of literature in the various Indian Languages). In the studies which follow, Urdu has been given its proper place immediately after Hindi in being within the same orbit or circle. These have been given in the followring order :

- (1) Hindi.
- (2) Urdu.
- (3) Bengali.
- (4) Assamese.
- (5) Oriya.
- (6) Marathi.
- (7) Gujarati.
- (8) Panjabi.
- (9) Kashmiri.
- (10) Telugu.
- (11) Kannada.
- (12) Tamil.
- (13) Malayalam.

In addition to the above, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Nepali, Bhojpuri and Maithili, among other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as Awadhi, Chattisgarhi and Konkani, besides Manipuri and Newari among Sino-Tibetan languages, and Santali among the Kol or Munda speeches, deserve special treatment.

HINDĪ LITERATURE

(I) The Linguistic Background of Hindi Literature

By 'Hindi Literature', we now mean the entire mass of compositions in the following speeches (languages and dialects) :

(i) The modern literature, in prose and verse, that has started from the end of the 18th century and is being created with such wide-spread enthusiasm in Khari-Boli, the Standard Speech of Delhi, which entered its full-fledged literary career from after the middle of the 19th century. Beginnings of the use of this Standard Delhi Dialect mixed with (ii) below we find from the 14th century. At the present day, particularly for the last fifty years, there is quite a luxuriant growth of literature of all sorts in this Khari-Boli, the Modern Hindi Speech *par excellence*.

(ii) The earlier as well as the modern literature in the dialects of the 'Western Hindi' group—notably in Braj-bhasha and Bundeli. From 1300-1800 A. D., it was the literature in Braj which was most in vogue as proper 'Hindi' literature, and some of the greatest earlier poets like Sūradāsa, Bihārī and Bhūṣaṇa wrote in the Braj dialect.

In addition to the above two forms of Hindi, which belong grammatically to the same group, the earlier literatures in the following speeches also come under 'Hindi', as their speakers in modern times have accepted Hindi (i) as their language of public life, education and literature, and now-a-days produce little or no literature worth the name in their own speeches. Whatever is written in these speeches now passes as 'dialect literature' in Hindi (including compositions in pure (ii) e. g. Braj-bhasha and Bundeli) :

(iii) The Awadhi speech, with the related Bagheli and Chattisgarhi dialects. A considerable part of 'Early Hindi' literature, including Tulasīdāsa, perhaps the best-known 'Hindi' writer, is in Early Awadhi.

(iv) The various Rajasthani dialects, particularly Early Marwari known as *Ḍiṅgal*. An extensive literature in Marwari and other Rajasthani, including a number of fine long poems, like the *Vēḷi Kṛṣṇa Rukmiṇī Rī*, and the *Ḍholā-Mārū-rā Duhā*, and a good amount of lyric poetry, come under this—also as part of

'Hindi' literature. Mīrā Bāī's devotional lyrics on Krishna, composed originally in pure Rajasthani, but current also in a form modified by Braj-bhasha and Khari-Boli, are thus considered to be among the most esteemed creations of 'Hindi' literature. •

But it is to be noted that there is a movement among a strong section of Rajasthani-speakers, particularly of the Marwari area, to press for the recognition of Rajasthani as a separate language independent of Hindi.

(v) A mixed Panjabi (both Western and Eastern) and Western Hindi (Khari-Boli of Delhi, as well as Braj-bhasha) literature of devotional poetry, as in the compositions of the Sikh Gurus, is also regarded as 'Early Hindi.'

(vi) The small literature of songs and ballads in the Pahari speeches (Western Pahari and Central Pahari, see ante, p. 25) is now within the category of Hindi literature.

(vii) The Bihari speeches, Bhojpuri and Magahi as well as Maithili, have now been reduced to the position of *patois* dialects, as their speakers have accepted Hindi as their language of educational and public life. Consequently, whatever is available, old and modern, in these speeches is also included within 'Hindi' literature.

But some Maithili-speakers resent this, and press for a separate classification of their language. The greatest writer of Maithili, Vidyāpati, c. 1400, is claimed as a 'Hindi' poet by all, except by those Maithils who wish their language to be given an independent status once again.

Beside the above, we have to note that—

(viii) Urdu literature, which has had an independent history, would gladly be claimed as part of Hindi Literature, as the grammars of Urdu and Khari-Boli Hindi are almost identical. 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' from this point of view are looked upon as but two different 'Styles' of the same language, Urdu being specially dubbed as 'Musalmani Hindi.' However correct the position might be linguistically, Muslim as well as many Hindu writers and users of Urdu will not accept it.

Nevertheless, at the present day a good deal of Urdu literature, particularly poetry, is being printed in Nagari characters, with Hindi and Sanskrit equivalents of the less common Perso-Arabic words being given in footnotes; and works in Urdu prose also (short stories and novels) are with slight changes in vocabulary

being published in the Nagari script. These are quite popular with readers of Hindi, and it is *Nāgarī-Pracāra* in the true sense ; and these editions, like what is known as *Cinema Hindustani*, demonstrate the basic unity of Hindi and Urdu.

(ix) The literature in Dakhni or Dakni, composed in the various Western Hindi dialects, on a Khari-Boli *cum* Panjabi basis, which were taken to the Deccan and South India by Muslim and other persons—soldiers, businessmen, administrators etc.—who went from North India and settled among Marathi, Kanada, Telugu and Tamil speakers. They started a literature from the middle of the 14th century and this literature, mainly the work of Muslims, has been preserved in Mss. and printed books in the Persian script, and was looked upon as an earlier form of Urdu, as a sort of 'Dakhanī' or Southern or Deccan Urdu, as opposed to 'Shimālī' or Northern or Delhi Urdu. This early literature of Dakhni is now being studied by Hindu scholars, and is being printed and published in the Nagari character, and as such is being quietly included within 'Hindi' literature, as the most natural thing.

If in Europe we could conceive of Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan ceasing to produce literature (like Galician and Provençal) and the speakers of all these accepting French as their main literary language, studying only French at school and reading and writing only French, and if on that basis we were to lump together the earlier (and even modern) literatures in all these languages and dialects as 'French' literature, then we would be in an analogous situation for 'Hindi'. Only, Standard Literary Hindi, as current now, is a recent speech, barely 150 years old. But it must be noted that there is far greater agreement in vocabulary (through both pure and modified Sanskrit words as well as proper words of these speeches derived ultimately from 'Sanskrit' through Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan), and in general mutual intelligibility (although the grammatical forms may be more or less different) among these modern Indo-Aryan speeches, than there is among the Neo-Latin languages in Europe. Besides, the masses are not so very much dialect-conscious as yet—they are more caste-conscious, and caste often overlaps dialects ; and as they are largely illiterates, they take the lead from the intellectual *e'lite* in the various areas.

But whatever might be the history, or the findings of historical linguistics, the wishes of the people (or, rather, of the guiding *intelligentsia*) have to be followed in a matter like this. So by

'Hindi Literature' we have to include the literatures produced in all the nine (or eight) forms of speech as above, particularly for the older periods.

Urdu is the Musalman form of Hindi (No. (i) Khaṛī-bōlī). It has been given recognition as a separate language because of three things: (i) its Perso-Arabic script, (ii) its plethora of Perso-Arabic words, to the deliberate exclusion of pure Hindi and Sanskrit words, and (iii) the general Islamic and Persian feel of its atmosphere and its ideals in life and literature. The Muslim ordinarily would never consent to bring Urdu under Hindi, as a special or communal form of it : they claim for it an independent status. As a reply to some Hindu writers who are demanding that Urdu should have its proper linguistic place as a form of Hindi, some Muslims, political leaders and others, when they make a speech in highly Persianized Urdu, describe it as 'Hindi' ; and they contend that it is Khari-Boli Hindi which is really a Hinduized and Sanskritized form of Hindustani or Urdu, pointing out that Khari-Boli Hindi poetry came in the field much later than Urdu poetry.

In the present work, Urdu literature is treated separately after Hindi.

(2) Hindi Literature prior to 1300 A. D.

Round about 1000 A. D., the New Indo-Aryan languages, including the Western Hindi dialects, took their definite modern form. At that time, not only in what may be called 'the Hindi area,' but also all over Aryan India, the latest form of Middle Indo-Aryan, as current in the Midland and the contiguous tracts, was well-established as the language of a popular character, as opposed to the scholars' Sanskrit. This latest form of Midland Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit, known as Śaurasēnī (or Nāgara) Apabhraṃśa, was the real precursor of Hindi. Even when the New Indo-Aryan stage was arrived at, giving rise to what may be called 'Old Hindi', the force of the Śaurasēnī or Nāgara Apabhraṃśa literary speech was so great that for at least three centuries more it held the field. The actual spoken language came to its own, so far as the Hindi area was concerned, later, after 1300 A.D. The situation was not exactly like this in many other language areas. Bengal developed a literature in pure Old Bengali by 1000 A. D., while writers were still under the spell of the Common North Indian Literary

Speech, the Nāgara or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa. So too in Gujarat : Old Gujarati and Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa were used side by side, even after Gujarati had become characterized. Marathi came to its own in the 13th century, although short specimens of Old Marathi are to be found in some inscriptions much earlier. The oldest specimens of what passes as Hindi literature are thus not in a properly characterized New Indo-Aryan Hindi, Braj-bhasha or some other dialect, but rather in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa, or in a kind of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa making a compromise with the spoken vernacular Hindi as current in the 10th-14th centuries in the Midland and East Panjab, in having a mixture of old and new forms.

Specimens of this kind of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa passing on to Old Hindi are found in some anthologies, like the verses (definitely named 'Apabhraṃśa') quoted in Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar (Hema-chandra, d. 1147 A. D.), in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (compiled c. 1400 A.D. from earlier materials), and in certain Jaina writers of Gujarat, like Sōmaprabha Sūri (1124, date of his *Kumārāpāla-Pratibōdha*) and Merutuṅga (1304, date of his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*). Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa verses by Bengali poets have also been found, belonging to the period 950-1200 A. D. We have also to mention old 'Hindi' (really Apabhraṃśa ?) poems composed in India and appreciated (evidently through a translation) in the court of Mahmud of Ghazna, by the Turki Sultan himself.

There is no authentic work in Old Hindi which can be definitely placed before 1300 A. D. At least half a dozen romantic poems are ascribed to this period, but the MS. tradition is very unsatisfactory ; these have all been found in much later MSS. These are poems of Rajput warfare and chivalry, and form part of the mediaeval literary tradition. In their current or vulgate forms, the language cannot be definitely located to any particular age or area. There is a mixture of Old Hindi and Old Rajasthani with Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa in varying degrees, in the forms of words and in grammar. The greatest of these Rajput romances is the famous *Prithwī-rāja Rāsau* describing the heroic career of Prithwī-rāja Cauhāṇa, or Pithaurā, the last Hindu King of Delhi (d. 1195), and the work is ascribed to Canda Baradāī, his court poet. The work is quite epic in its theme, treatment and proportions, and after the first complete edition was published by the *Nāgarī-Pracārīṇī Sabhā*

of Banaras many years ago, scholars are now busy, in Calcutta, in Allahabad, in Lucknow, in Udaipur, in Bikaner and elsewhere, to find a definitive text. Some believe it to be a huge compilation of the 16th century. Others have discovered in it Apabhraṃśa verses which may go to the 12th-13th centuries. The story is romantic, that of Prithwīrāja's winning Sanjōgitā (or Saṃyuktā), the daughter of Jayacanda of Kanauj, and Jayacanda's subsequent pact with the Turki Sultan of Afghanistan, Muhammad Ghori, to bring about the ruin and destruction of his son-in-law ; and it forms, with its various episodes and ramifications, a well-known heroic romance of mediaeval North India. Earlier than the *Prithwīrāja Rāsau*, according to tradition, are two other heroic romances, the *Khumāṇa Rāsau* of ancient though unknown authorship, preserved in a very late redaction (probably 17th century), and the *Bisāladēva Rāsau* of Narapati Nalhā (c. 1163 A. D.), giving an account of Bisāladēva of Sāmbhar in Rajputana and his marriage with Rājamatī the daughter of Raja Bhōja Paramāra of Malwa, and his quarrel with his wife and then his father-in-law, and their subsequent reconciliation. The authenticity of this work is also doubtful. Names of other writers of romance in verse occur, but their works have not been preserved. Jaganika (c. 1170) is a poet who wrote a long epic or romance describing 'the 52 Wars' waged by two Rajput heroes Ālhā and Ūdala (or Udaya-Siṃha), nephews of Prithwīrāja. The original work of Jaganika is not extant, but a modernized and extended form of it in the Bundeli dialect is exceedingly popular throughout the whole of the Hindi area and even in Awadhi and Bhojpuri tracts, where singers of the Ālhā-Ūdal poems are found everywhere in villages and in towns, chanting these lays to the accompaniment of a drum and cymbals—the language of course getting some colouring from the local speeches.

These and similar works of a later period are good testimony to a general appreciation among the people of the heroic and romantic life of the Rajput or Kshatriya aristocracy of North India who offered and went on offering the most stubborn resistance to the Turk in India.

During this period, 1000 to 1300, we have also traditions of some religious writers, but the full revival of Brahmanical Hinduism was yet to come. There were certain schools of popular Hindu philosophy, which had gathered elements from late Buddhism, from.

Yōga specially, and from Saiva Monism, of which the *Nātha-pantha* was most important and powerful. The *Nātha-pantha* or 'the Nātha Way' was so called because its teachers all had the sobriquet of *Nātha* as part of their names, the word meaning 'lord or master'. Gōrakha-nātha, or Gōrakṣa-nātha (c. 1150) was a great teacher of this school. His influence is found all over Northern India, and even in the distant Maratha country, and he has been claimed by Bengali, Bihari as well as Hindi and Panjabi literatures. Gōrakha-nātha appears to have wandered all over North India, from Bengal to the Panjab and Nepal, but nothing definitely is known about his home and his life, although there are many legends. A number of books ascribed to him have been found preserved by the *Nātha-pantha* mendicants, and the language of some of them, describing Yōga philosophy and practice, is unquestionably on an Old Bengali basis, although the works have been found in Rajasthan.

The next period witnessed the advent of new streams of religious faith and devotion, which will be discussed later. The *Nātha-pantha* stressed on *Jñāna* or knowledge of the Deity rather than on *Bhakti* or devotion to God as the path for salvation. In the *Nātha* tradition was Jñāna-dēva (c. 1295), who preached a purer Vēdānta, though on a *Bhakti* basis, through his famous Old Marathi translation of and commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. But in the Maratha country also flourished during the same 13th century (1271-1351) the great devotee and preacher of pure devotion (*Bhakti*) in God, the saint Nāma-dēva, whose is also a great name in early Marathi literature, and a number of whose poems, their language either retained without much change or altered or translated to Early Hindi, influenced people in the North and helped to bring about the Brahmanical Vaishnava revival through the *Bhakti* doctrine in the next period.

(3) Hindi Literature from 1300 to 1500 A. D.

The earlier three centuries were not conducive to the growth of literature, as the Turki conquest of North India was proceeding with all its ruthlessness from 1000 to 1300 A. D. By the middle of the 13th century, it was found that the Turk had come to stay, and the Indian Musalman as a distinct and a new element in the population came into being. The Turkish *conquistadores* followed the method of violence in conquering, killing and looting, and abducting women, and converting the Hindus by force. This did

not prove effective—it stiffened up Hindu opposition to the hated Turk and his religion. The Sūfī preachers, on the other hand, moving among the Hindu masses and living among them, followed far different methods, and they were successful, both in gaining converts to Islam and in effecting a spiritual *rapprochement* with the Hindus. This 'Sūfī Way' (*Sūfiyāna Tariqa*) of spreading Islam was more successful than the 'Turkī Way' (*Turkāna Tariqa*). The result of this Sūfī Way was that some new religious developments came into being in India, which were quite in conformity with the spirit of Hindu India.

At the confluence of this period we find Amīr Khusrau (1254-1325), a most remarkable person as a scholar, as a Sūfī and as a poet. His father was an immigrant Turk, a foreign Muslim, and his mother an Indian Muslim lady of Turki origin. He was a finished Persian scholar, and wrote a number of poems and romances in Persian, and he is looked upon as the greatest Persian poet of India. He knew Arabic, and he was one of the earliest writers of Hindi, both among Hindus and Muslims: and he was fully alive to the importance of 'Hindi', even before Persian and Arabic—he was quite proud of the language. It is just possible that by 'Hindi' he meant Sanskrit also. His Hindi output is small, but quite precious. This consists of a number of four-line stanzas which were riddles beautifully expressed, and some longer verses. The MS. tradition of the Hindi writings of Khusrau is not certain, and it is likely that the language has been to some extent modernized. But we can be sure he used the New Indo-Aryan Old Hindi and not Apabhraṃśa, as the day of Apabhraṃśa was passing away. He employs both the speech of Delhi (the *-ā*-dialect) and the speech of Mathura (Braj-bhasha—the *-au*-dialect), generally in a mixed idiom. The subject of his little poems relate to every-day affairs of life, the sentiments and situations of love sometimes being described most beautifully, and the language is simple, direct and highly poetical. He has some macaronic verses in Hindi and Persian, and he is the reputed author of a famous Rimed Vocabulary of Persian and Arabic words with their Hindi equivalents (the *Khāliq-Bārī*).

A contemporary of Khusrau was the song-composer Gōpāl Nāyak, some of whose songs (*Dhrūpada*) in Braj-bhasha are still current. After Amīr Khusrau, during the 14th-15th century, was a Muslim Sūfī writer who lived in the Deccan, and was the first

writer of Dakhni under Muslim Sufi inspiration. He was Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gēsū-darāz (1321-1422), whose book in Dakhni Hindi, the *Mi-‘rāju-l-‘Ašiqīn*, or ‘Ascent of Lovers’ with its large number of Perso-Arabic religious terms, is looked upon as the first Urdu book so far obtained, and it presents one of the first attempts at writing prose in a North-Indian speech.

Between 1300-1400, we do not find other writers of Hindi, though compilation of Apabhraṁśa texts and their study, and literary endeavour in a mixture of Rajasthani and Apabhraṁśa and Old Braj-bhasha appears to have continued in the courts of the Princes of Rajas’han. The foreign Muslim rulers had no use for Apabhraṁśa—the impetus towards writing largely in the living languages of the day might reasonably have come from the Muslim rulers of foreign origin and sympathies.

Hindi literature during the 15th century is dominated by Kabīr, or Sant Kabīr Dās, whose traditional dates are 1399-1518, he being credited with an abnormally long life of 119 years. He is one of the greatest saints and mystics of India and the World. Born in a Muslim family of Indian origin, of people who were weavers by profession, he is said to have received spiritual initiation from Rāmānanda, a saintly devotee of Vaishnavism in the city of Banaras which was also Kabīr’s native place. Kabīr was a religious mystic and devotee, and his approach to God was through the path of both knowledge and devotion. His God was an Absolute Being without attributes, without an earthly incarnation and a personal form. This aspect of his teachings he got from the *Nātha-pantha* tradition as preserved in the Yōga School of Gōrakha-nātha. But this approach to a God without attributes, a *Nirguṇa-Brahma*, was suffused with a highly emotional quality of love also—it was not merely dry-as-dust *Jñāna* or quest through Knowledge, but it was *Bhakti* or Devotion, as well as *Prēma* or *Prīti* i. e. Love. Herein Kabīr was influenced by two strains of religious perception—by Indian Vaishnava *Prēma-bhakti*, and by Sūfi ‘išq or love.

The *abandon* of faith in and love of God was a new strain in Indian religious aspiration, for which Hindu religious experience is indebted to the Dravidian South. The saints of Tamil-nad, whether the Vaishnava *Aṣvārs* or the Saiva *Nayanmārs*, who flourished roughly during the second half of the first millennium A. D., were distinguished by a passionate love for God and self-abnegation, whether God appeared to them in the form of Śiva as in

the case of the Five *Nayanmārs*, or in the form of Viṣṇu as for the Eighteen *Aṣṭvārs*. This feeling of self-effacing love for the Deity as the only ultimate means of realization and salvation formed the basis of the North-Indian *Bhakti* school. In the *Śrī-Sampradāya* of the Scholar and Saint Rāmānuja (c. 1015), this *Bhakti* for God in the form of Viṣṇu or his incarnation on earth like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, was inculcated, and this *Bhakti* doctrine was brought to the North. Rāmānanda of North India, who probably belonged to Banaras, was a teacher of the order of Rāmānuja—in the 14th-15th centuries, and he preached devotion to Viṣṇu in the form of Rāma. From him, whom Kabīr accepted as his *Guru*, the *Bhakti* aspect of the latter's spiritual personality was unquestionably derived. From the Sufis, to whom he had access as one belonging to a Muslim group, he got his idea of romantic love for the Divine Being as a personal Deity. But whereas with the Sufis, God is the beloved and Man is the lover, it was different with Kabīr, as being more in the Old Indian (Vaishnava) tradition : God is, with Kabīr, the Supreme Male, the *Puruṣōttama* in orthodox Hindu parlance, and human souls are the brides of God. This is in accordance with the notions of the followers of Kṛṣṇa as the Great Lover in the *Vṛndāvana* legends in Hinduism. Some of the most beautiful poems by Kabīr treat of the yearning of the Soul for God, of the pangs of Separation and the joy or ecstasy of Union, in the language of love of a young woman or bride eager to meet her beloved, and pining during his absence and singing in joy in anticipation of his coming.

Kabīr was the great apostle of Unity of Faiths in the higher plane of true knowledge and love of God. He preached, to both Hindus and Muslims of his time, the need to rise above the accidentals of religion and to think of the essentials which are the same everywhere. God he named both as *Rāma*, the Hindu name (Kabīr made it clear that by *Rāma*, which means 'One in Whom we are pleased', he did not mean, as most Hindus did, the incarnation of Viṣṇu who came down on earth as Rāma the son of Daśaratha and the husband of Sītā), and as *Raḥīm*, the Muslim name (meaning 'the Supremely Merciful One'). In Kabīr, we might say, the true spirit of Hinduism in seeking the Essential Unity in the midst of Diversity found a most beautiful expression.

Kabīr thus presents in his spiritual personality a strand of many threads, a prism of many colours, and yet he is so human, and so universal. The greatness of Kabīr as a mystic was appre-

ciated by Rabindranath Tagore, who translated into English 100 Select Poems from Kabīr, from the edition in Bengali characters by Kshiti Mohan Sen of Santiniketan, who did so much to revive the popularity of Kabīr and other mystics of his school (including Dādū, 17th century) in Bengal and India.

Kabīr was an easterner from Banaras, and his home-dialect was Bhojpuri. A number of poems in pure Bhojpuri have found in what may be called the *Kabīr Canon*. But most of his writings are now available in a mixed language. This is popularly known as *Sādhukkaḍa Bōli*, or the Speech or Diction of wandering Mendicants (*Sādhus*). It is basically Western Hindi—Braj-bhasha in fact, with *ā*-forms from the Delhi speech, and occasionally forms from Awadhi. Some of his poems are palimpsests in language—they were originally composed in his native Bhojpuri, traces of which are found below the surface of their present Western Hindi form. In a few poems, he has used too freely ('scattered', so to say—*rēxta*) Perso-Arabic words to suit a special Islamic context, and these can be described as showing the possibility of an Urdu coming into being in the future. Kabīr uses a rich vocabulary which is racy of the soil, and he is unquestionably the first truly national Hindi writer whose writings still have a vogue among the Hindi-speaking and Hindi-using people, both for their language and their content. He is also held in great esteem as one of the greatest poets of India in other parts of India too, particularly in Bengal.

The poetic charm of Kabīr's mystic poems is ineffable. He is credited with a large number of works, all in verse, but the *Bijak* or 'the Seed-Book' and the *Bānīs* or 'Message Poems' are the most important. The founder of the Sikh faith, Guru Nānak (1469-1539), and his successors were to some extent of the same school of thought as Kabīr, and quite a large number of Kabīr's poems have found a place in the *Ādi-Grantha* of the Sikhs, which is a collection (made in 1604 by Arjun, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs) of devotional and mystic poems by the Sikh *Gurus* or Teacher-saints and by some others who preceded them and were reputed as *bhaktas* or lovers of God.

Guru Nānak has to be mentioned with Kabīr, although younger than he by three generations. He and his disciples carried on the earlier *Bhakti* tradition in the Panjab, and Guru

Nānak and his followers had contacts with the Panjab Sufis, the oldest of whom, Bābā Farīdu-d-din Ganj-Shakar (d. 1244) of Mūltān and Pāk-pattan, may be described as a genuine predecessor of Kabīr, judging from the form and content of two poems left by him which have a place in the *Ādi-Grantha* : these are among the oldest compositions available in Hindi.

A younger contemporary of Kabīr in the same line of mystic poetry was Dharma-dāsa, whose poems are available. Like Kabīr, he composed also in the Bhojpuri speech, and pure Bhojpuri poems of his have been found, along with others the language of which has been changed to Hindi.

(4) Hindi Literature from 1500 to 1600

This century was perhaps the greatest in the history of Hindi literature. From about 1500, we have beginnings of new religious and literary movements in Northern India, which had an intense influence on all the New Indo-Aryan literatures, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Awadhi (Kosali), Braj-bhasha (Western Hindi) and the Rajasthani dialects, as well as Panjabi. It was the *Bhakti* School of thought, which, as said before, came from the South and strengthened and gave new content to the Vaishnava form of Brahmanism in North India. Not that the *Bhakti* cult or the *Bhakti* approach to the Deity was wholly unknown in North India. Its earliest expression has been named the *Bhāgavata-dharma*, i. e. *Bhagavatism*, or the conception of the Divinity as *Bhagavān* or the Lord endowed with all qualities, and to *Bhagavān* was offered the homage of faith and devotion ; and *Bhagavān* was seen as Viṣṇu or Śiva, or as a Bōdhisattva or even as Buddha among the Buddhists, particularly among the Mahayana Buddhists.

While Kabīr carried on the approach to the *Nirguṇa* or attributeless God-head, couched in *Bhakti* or devotion and *Prēma* or *Prīti* i. e. love, and seeking to cultivate *Jñāna* or the knowledge of God at the same time, Rāmānanda's other disciples in the 15th and 16th centuries established the *Bhakti* school centering round the personality of Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Instead of thinking of the Supreme Viṣṇu abiding in his far-away *Vaikuṇṭha* heaven, the followers of this school preferred to see a personal Divinity whom they could serve with devotion, who was but Viṣṇu the Supreme God incarnate as Rāma,

who was God in the flesh and a doer of wonderful deeds, destroyer of the demons of evil and saviour of those who approached him in faith. This was a supreme apotheosis of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, who was already in classical times raised to the position of an incarnation of Viṣṇu, as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. It appears that Rāmānanda became great as an organizer of this neo-Vaishnavism of North India in the 14th-15th centuries through the worship of Rāma. He had 12 disciples or apostles, of whom Kabīr and Rai-dās or Ravi-dāsa were in the line of *Nirguṇa* worship; and among the rest, Sēn Nāī (the Barber Sēn), or Sēn Bhagat (the Devotee Sēn), spread his doctrine in the Baghelkhand tract through the support of the local chief Rāmacandra (second half of the 16th century). Another in the *Bhakti* line was Pipā (= ? Priyā-pāda), ruler of Gang-raungarh in Mewar State; and a fifth was Anantānanda, whose disciple Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Paya-ahārī ('He who lived on milk') is said to have established the Rāma-worshipping *Bhakti* school in Galtā near Amber in Rajasthan after converting the abbot and monks in *Nātha-pantha* Yōgī monastery there. Their line of scholars and poets in the same faith continued down the subsequent centuries.

The greatest name in this line started by Rāmānanda is that of Gusāī (Gusāī i. e. Gōsvāmī) Tulasī-dāsa. He was born round about 1523 A. D. in Gonda district in Eastern U. P., within the Awadhi (Kosali) language area*. For the love of God he gave up his home and his beloved wife and took the orange robe of the mendicant, and in 1574 he started to write his great work the *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, the best known book in 'Hindi', in his own native Awadhi speech. He died at Banaras in 1623.

* The place of his birth is the village of *Sūkara-khēta*, a place of pilgrimage by the Sarayū river. The name *Sūkara-khēta* is indicative of the antiquity of the place. It is Sanskrit *Sukṛta-kṣētra*, 'the field of good deeds', in Prakrit *Sukkaḍa-khetta* and has nothing to do with the Sanskrit *sūkara* = 'pig'. Misplaced zeal for the birth-place of Tulasīdāsa has been responsible in suggesting that this *Sūkara-khēta*, misunderstood to mean 'the field of swine', in Gonda, could not be his birth-place—it was thought rather to be the village of *Sōrō* (*Soron*), in Etah district, which, however, is within the area of Western Hindi (Kanaui).

Tulasī-dāsa wrote in both his own Awadhi, and in the Braj-bhasha form of Western Hindi. The 16th century was, equally with the Braj and other Western Hindi dialects, the great century for Awadhi literature also. But his language was generally understood all over Aryan India, from the Panjab to the frontiers of Bengal. For the people to the West of the Awadhi area, however, a literal rendering of Tulasī-dāsa's original Awadhi verses in the present-day literary Hindi is a great help, and most 'annotated editions' mean editions with this translation in literary Hindi (*bhāṣā-ṭīkā*). In Bengali, there are at least three translations of Tulasī-dāsa, two of these giving the original text in Bengali characters; and there are editions in the Gurmukhi and even in the Perso-Arabic character. Tulasī-dāsa composed about a dozen works in all, but his adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (the *Rāma-carita-mānasa*) is the greatest of them all. This work is the Bible of the Hindu masses of North India—of the Hindi-using area. It is read everywhere, in public with proper chanting and exposition, and in private both for its poetical charm and for devotional exercise. It gives the story of Rāma in noble poetical language, and at the same time it is an exposition of the philosophy of the *Bhakti* cult through the figure of Rāma as the Saviour. Tulasī was a follower and supporter of orthodox Brahmanical ways, and his advent with this and other books did the greatest service in strengthening the Hindus of Northern India in their religion, their old ways, and their culture, which seemed to be overwhelmed in the flood-tide of an aggressive Islam and by the side-attacks on Hindu cultural life through covert preaching against orthodoxy, which inculcated the study of Sanskrit books, going to places of pilgrimage and performing the various religious rites. He brought before the Hindus the ideal of Rāma, the hero, steadfast and kind-hearted, truthful and beneficent, and standing up and fighting evil and defending the weak against the tyrannical demons and ogres. In the days of Turki and Pathan and Mogul rule, this bracing and manly ideal was a necessity for the Hindus, and it certainly saved them from being cast adrift from the bases of their culture. If a writer's popularity is to be gauged by the number of quotations from him known to the masses, then there is none else in the range of Hindi to stand before Tulasī-dāsa.

Tulasī's '*Rāmāyaṇa*' has been rendered into English, and L. Barannikov under the auspices of the Moscow Academy of

of Arts and Sciences brought out a complete Russian verse translation in 1950.

It is not necessary to discuss the other writings of Tulasī-dāsa, which are all devotional. But mention should be made of his *Vinaya-patrikā*—which is a series of prayers in poems which have a rare beauty and sincerity. His philosophy has been treated by a large number of writers in Hindi. He preached a pure devotion to God, and doing one's duty with sincerity. He took a view of life as a whole, and in his writings, particularly in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is no lack of his knowledge of men and their motives. This makes him a source of worldly wisdom not divorced from the love of God. He fully supported the worship of a *Saguṇa* (i. e. endowed with attributes) personal God who was for him Rāma, the incarnated Supreme Spirit. Though a devotional work, it has its fullest contact with the life around, and hence its appeal, not only for the Indian Man, but also for outsiders. Tulasī-dāsa was a good Sanskrit Scholar and his language is generally highly Sanskritized, although his Sanskrit words are modified in their spelling to suit the phonetic habits of his Awadhi speech. His language definitely helped to preserve and strengthen the Sanskrit tradition in North India.

The work of Tulasī-dāsa was continued by other poets in the same line, some of whom were contemporaries of Tulasī-dāsa, others living in the subsequent centuries. A younger contemporary of Tulasī-dāsa was Agra-dāsa (c. 1575) and Nābhājī-dāsa, who compiled in short verses a sort of Vaishnava *Legenda Aurea* (The *Bhakta-māla*, 'the Garland of Saints') which mentions the Vaishnava saints of early times, as well as of the recent age like Jayadēva down to Tulasī-dāsa. An extensive commentary by Priyā-dāsa (in Braj-bhasha, like the original) composed in 1704 enhanced the value of the work. The *Bhakta-māla* was translated into Bengali in the 17th century.

In the 16th century, two other types of religious persuasion, and poetical literature as an expression thereof, came to be established in Hindi, in addition to the Nirguṇa School of Kabīr, and the *Rāma-bhakti* of Rāmānanda and Tulasī-dāsa. These were : (1) the *Bhakti* school which preferred Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, as the Supreme God on earth, more than Rāma—the *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* group ; and (2) the Indian Muslim Sufi

group of writers, who took a number of romantic tales of Indian origin and feeling and treated them as themes of Sufi allegory.

The Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, after the Upanishads and the Vēdānta-sūtras, gave the basic scripture to the followers of Rāma ; but with *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* school, it was the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. Vallabhācārya (1479-1531) in North India and Caitanya (1485-1533) in Bengal were the great teachers of this Krishna cult. A contemporary of theirs in Assam was Śaṅkara-dēva, who in a way reverted to the worship of Viṣṇu as the Supreme God, with leanings to the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, rather than to the exclusive worship of either of the two great incarnations. The central point in this cult was that God as Kṛṣṇa was the Great Lover of human souls which were conceived in the figure of the Gōpīs or cowherd girls, with whom, with Rādhā at their head, Kṛṣṇa of legend spent his time during his childhood and his adolescence in the woods and pastures of Vṛndāvana (Brindāban) by the Yamunā river, when he lived there in hiding through fear of his maternal uncle Kāṁsa, king of Mathurā, who wanted to kill him, fearing a rival in him. A great philosophy has been built up by Vallabhācārya and by the followers of Caitanya on this religious experience, and both in Bengali and in Hindi—particularly in the Braj-bhasha dialect—a mass of lovely lyrics on the sports of youthful Kṛṣṇa as God incarnate with his friends and with the cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana, and with Rādhā who loved him with intense self-abnegation and was the incarnation of God's attributes of joy and beauty (His *Hlādinī Śakti* or 'Power to Enrapture'), came into being. In this matter, there has been some indirect influence of the writings of the Tamil Vaishnava devotees, the *Aṣṭvārs*, of the South, and possibly of the Persian Sūfīs.

Sūra-dāsa was the greatest poet of this *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* school, and he composed several thousands of lovely lyrics on Kṛṣṇa's childhood and early youth and his sports with the Gōpīs in the purest Braj-bhasha. He was a disciple of Vallabhācārya, and, lived probably from 1503 to 1563. These poems were not without their influence on the other Modern Indo-Aryan speeches. Sūra-dāsa is among the greatest poets of Hindi. He along with seven other disciples of Vallabhācārya formed the group of devotees and poets of the *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* cult known as the *Aṣṭa-chāpa* or 'the Eight Stamp-Seals'. They extended, though mainly in the same beaten tracks, the extent of Hindi literature ; and

their followers, carrying down the tradition (equally as in the case of the *Rāma-bhakti* cult) to the end of the 19th century, are a legion, but they do not always have much interest or universal appeal.

An exception is to be made about Mīrā (or Mīrā) Bāī the *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* poetess of Rajasthan. She lived round about 1498 to 1546 (or 1503-1546), having passed away at Dvārakā in Gujarat. She was the daughter of a princely house in Rajasthan and was married to a prince of Mewar. But becoming a widow in early youth, she devoted her whole life to religion, and became an ardent worshipper of Kṛṣṇa. There are many miracles connected with her life ; and it is said she had correspondence with Tulasī-dāsa and met some of the great followers of Caitanya in Vṛndāvana. Mīrā Bāī's songs were originally in the Marwari form of Rajasthani, but they have generally been altered to Hindi (Braj-bhasha), and are very popular. Here we have a sweet melody peculiar to these devotional songs, and the simple faith and the throbbing yearning for union with the Godhead are brought out in a most captivating and convincing manner in these exquisite lyrics. Her popularity in India can be gauged from the fact that at least two films in Hindi and one in Bengali have been made on her life (also on that of Tulasī-dāsa and other devotees of both North and South India, in Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Tamil).

The Sufi tradition, which took up some romantic tales of Hindu inspiration and wove them into beautiful allegorical poems flourished mainly in the Awadhi area. The oldest writer in Awadhi in this tradition, using an Indian (Hindu) romantic tale as the basis of Sufi allegory, appears to have been Maulānā Dāūd, who wrote, about 1370 A. D., his *Candāyan*, or the Romance of Lōr or Laur or Lōrik (a well-known North-Indian hero of the Ahīr caste) and his wife Candā. This work has been mentioned by the historian Badāʾunī of Akbar's court, which shows its popularity in the 16th century. Manuscript fragments only of the work have been found dating from the middle of the 16th century, the Perso-Arabic script being used to write the Early Awadhi verses. The story is well-known, and versions in Maithili and Magahi have been compiled, and there is a 17th century Bengali rendering of this story which was popular among East Bengal Muslims. (See "An Illustrated Awadhi MS. of Laur-Chanda in the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, Banaras", by Rai Krishna-dasa, *Lalit Kālā*, Lalit Kālā Akademi, New

Delhi, Nos. 1-2, April 1955-March 1956. pp. 66ff.). This work would thus be the second oldest work in Awadhi, coming next to the *Ukti-vyakti-prakarana* of the first half of the 12th century. There was thus a good literary tradition already in Awadhi. In any case, Old Awadhi was used, in a book, as it has been mentioned before (p. 41), to teach Sanskrit, as in Dāmōdara's *Ukti-vyakti-prakarana*.

There were three other similar important Awadhi poets in the 16th century. There was Kutban or Qutban, who lived as a protegee' of the Sultan of Jaunpur in Eastern U. P. (near Banaras). He was a disciple of the Sufi teacher of the Chishti order, Shaikh Burhān, and in 1501 A. D. he composed his *Mrgāvatī*, which has been published. It is a pure Rajput romance, and the allegorical element in it is slight. Manjhan lived after Qutban, and his *Madhu-mālātī* (before 1532) has been found only in an incomplete form. It is likely he was imitated in this book by the Dakhni poet Nusratī, c. 1670 A. D. Here is great play of fancy, more imagination and allegory of love than in Qutban's work. This is certainly, although in its incomplete form, one of the best works of imagination written in Northern India.

The greatest writer in this group was Malik Muhammad Jāyasī, who composed his *Padumāwātī* during 1520-1540. This is a detailed Sufi allegorical treatment of the famous story of Padminī of Chitor, which is one of the greatest heroic and romantic tales of Rajput India. (Sceptics have doubted the historicity of this tale, and since the *Padumāwātī* of Malik Muhammad Jāyasī is the oldest work extant, giving this story of Hindu heroism and of the self-immolation of a Hindu lady, it has been suggested that the story was the creation of the Muslim Sufi writer). The *Padumāwātī* is one of the greatest books of mediaeval Indian literature, and the author is a worthy precursor of Tulasī-dāsa in writing a chaste and properly Sanskritic Awadhi. The work was translated into Bengali in distant Arracan by a Bengali Muslim poet Ālāol after 1650, working under the patronage of Māgan Thākur, a Muslim Officer from Chittagong under the Buddhist Burmese King of Arracan. It has also recently been completely translated into English by Shirref (from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta). Apart from its value as a repository of the best form of Early Awadhi, the poetic qualities of the work are great and uncontested, and it has met with careful study and unstinted praise from both Indian and European scholars.

Malik Muhammad Jāyasī wrote a few other works also. Most of his writings have been preserved in manuscripts written in the Persian character.

This Sufi tradition in Awadhi romance-writing continued down to the 20th century. There were at least four other poets, all Muslims, belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries, viz. Usmān, Shaikh Nabī, Kāsim and Nūr Muhammad, who will be noted later. The latest writer in this line was Nāzir Ahmad of Pratāp-gaṛh, who composed his romance of *Nūr-jahān* in 1905.

In the 16th century, Dādū Dayāl (1544-1603), another great poet of the school which was inaugurated by Kabīr, and in a way a later counterpart of Kabīr, flourished. He was either a leather-worker or a cotton-carder by caste, and he was born at Ahmedabad in Gujarat, lived mostly in Amber (Jaipur), and died there. Although Rajasthani was his language, his works are found in good Braj-bhasha, or a mixture of Braj-bhasha and Old Khaṛī-bōlī (Delhi speech), the same *Sādhukkaḍa Bōlī* as in the case of Kabīr. Dādū was a true mystic, and his poems are also among the greatest things in Hindi. In the subsequent 17th and 18th centuries, other poets, now being studied and resuscitated, continued the Kabīr tradition.

The second half of the 16th century witnessed the reign of Akbar the Great (1554-1605), one of the most enlightened rulers of India and the world, and Akbar's liberal policy acted as a great stimulator of the arts and sciences in India. Mogul painting was born, and the old Hindu schools of painting entered a new phase. Architecture flourished. The art of courtly poetry in Braj-bhasha received patronage from Akbar, who himself is credited with having composed distichs in Braj-bhasha. The singers and musicians, who received Akbar's high patronage, also composed songs in Braj-bhasha and set them to classical Indian melodies, and Tāna-sēna, the greatest musician of Akbar's court, was also a writer of simple yet highly poetic and sometimes profound songs on various topics, devotional, panegyric and descriptive. It is a great pity that Akbar and Tulasī-dāsa never met; but in Akbar's court were poets of distinction, in Braj-bhasha mostly, like Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān, son of Akbar's guardian in boyhood Bairām Khān (born 1553, died 1626), who wrote on various topics, including poems on Kṛṣṇa, which form his best works. Rahīm Khān-Khānān was thoroughly Hindu in spirit, and his poems too were in pure Braj-bhasha. He is said to have

corresponded with Tulasī-dāsa. Other poets in Akbar's court or of his time, who were not strictly religious but rather secular (the religious poets of the 16th century are a legion), were over a dozen, and mention can be made of Toḍar Mall, finance minister of Akbar ; Bīr-bal, friend and boon-companion of the emperor ; another close friend and companion of Akbar, Prithwīrāj Rāthoḍ of Bikaner (kept as hostage in Akbar's court, but became a close friend of Akbar : he composed in his Ḍiṅgal or Rajasthani Marwari speech, and he has some romantic poems in that language to his credit, like the *Veli Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇi-Rī*) ; Ālam (a Muslim, who wrote an artistic romance *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā* round about 1580) ; Gaṅga (who was another respected court-poet of Akbar and a close friend of Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān) ; Manōhar Kavi (a Kachwāhā Rajput prince, who lived in Akbar's court and composed poems in both Hindi and Persian) ; and the brothers Balabhadra Miśra and Kēśava-dāsa (1565-1617). The last was a poet who brought in a new type of literature in Hindi, which was deliberately and artificially rhetorical and artistic. The next two centuries saw further development of this style of composing verses in Hindi, to illustrate the intricacies of Sanskrit *alaṃkāra* or rhetoric, and their works were often *tours-de-force* in Hindi (Braj), which charm and sometimes bewilder us. Kēśava-dāsa's *Rasika-priyā* is the most important work of this type : he had seven other works to his credit, three of them biographical.

The poets of this Rhetorical School busied themselves with charming lyrical verses describing the beauty of fair women, *nakha-śikha*, "from the nails of the toes to the top-knot of hair", *cap-à-pie*, so to say, and the different types of ladies in love whether married or unmarried (*Nāyikā-bhēda*) ; the moods of lovers and sweethearts or married lovers ; the various *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* or Musical Modes, conceived as heroes and heroines or as divinities male or female ; descriptions of the Seasons (particularly revelling in the accounts of the rainy season and the spring) ; women in their occupations, avocations and amusements, and social unions ; of the various months narrating the occupations and distractions of lovers in union or in separation (*milana* and *biraha*)—the *Bāraha-māsī* poems ; and elaborate classifications of figures of speech, of the various sentiments (*rasas*), etc. It was a most complicated *Ars Poetica* and *Ars Amatoria* of late mediaeval

India, and all this finds its own proper or fitting illustration in different schools of mediaeval Indian painting—Rajput and other Hindu (including Orissan and Dakhni, and the schools of the Panjab Hills), and Mogul. It became the most engrossing subject-matter for 'Hindi' and Rajasthani poets—and poets by the score in every decade—for three centuries, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmans and low caste people, men and women, composed on the above themes.

(5) Hindi Literature, 1600-1800

This period was not characterized by any originality. The literary advance made in the previous two centuries and the literary types established during 1400-1600 were continued—one may say, repeated *ad nauseam*. Most of the writers were derivative, and rarely there was genius, although technical perfection and high talent were in plenty. Poets were becoming conscious of dialectal miscegenation in literature, and some advocated it. This suggests paving the way for the Delhi speech coming to the forefront.

During these two centuries, the noteworthy poets were those who were frankly writers on rhetoric and erotics, with an undercurrent of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* or *Rāma-bhakti* or *Sufism*. Their names are respected in the annals of Hindi literature, but they hardly have an appeal for anybody except the specialist scholar. We can only mention their names : Cintāmaṇi Tripāṭhī (born c. 1609); Bēnī (c. 1643); Mahārāj Jaswant Sinha of Marwar (born 1626, died 1678); the famous Bihārīlāl, author of the *Satasai* or 'Collection of Seven Hundred Verses', among other works (c. 1663—he was the court-poet of Raja Jayasinha of Amber, distinguished general of Aurangzēb : his style is terse and expressive, and sometimes recondite, and in Braj-bhasha : they are the delight of erudite commentators); Maṇḍan of Bundelkhand (c. 1659); Matirām of Tikmapur, Kanpur district (born c. 1617), brother of three other great poets Cintāmaṇi Tripāṭhī (mentioned above, first in the list), Bhūṣaṇa and Jaṭāśaṅkara. Of the brothers, Bhūṣaṇa (1613-1712) struck a new path as a poet by both his patriotic fervour and his wonderful command over language. He realized the importance of Śivājī, the hero of the Maratha country, in making a stand against Muslim aggression and keeping the forces of Aurangzēb at bay, with his achieved aim of setting

up an independent Hindu kingdom. In a number of short works, he panegyricized Śivājī in most musical Braj-bhasha verse, noted both for poetic imagery and for appreciation of Śivājī's ideals. These form an apotheosis of Hindu patriotism in the 17th century, when to a patriotic Hindu everything seemed lost, and the advent and presence of Śivājī was the only light of hope.

We need not name or enumerate other poets of the 17th-18th centuries : easily two or three scores of names, with their special works, can be quoted. They are mostly in the same artificial line of poetry, with pretty sentiments, rhetorical flourishes, and musical lines. And they wrote mostly in Braj-bhasha.

But distinctive among them for subject-matter were the following : Sundara-dāsa (1596-1689), Malūk-dāsa (1574-1682), and Ananta Ananya (c. 1653) were poets in the Kabīr tradition ; Usmān (c. 1616, author of *Citrāvalī*), Shaikh Nabī (c. 1620 : author of *Jñāna-dīpā*), Kāsim Sāh (c. 1727 : author of *Hansa-Jawāhir*) and Nūr Muhammad (c. 1740 : author of *Indrāvati*, and *Anurāg-bānsuri* or 'the Flute of Love', composed in 1764, which are beautiful works in Hindi, in the Jāyāsī tradition, showing how even when Urdu literature was being created in North India, the old Hindi tradition was still going strong among many Muslim writers). These last four names are of poets in the Sufi tradition started by Mullā Dāūd, who has been mentioned before. Lāl Kavi or Gōrēlāl Purōhit, who composed his beautiful epic biography of Chatrasāl, Rājā of Bundelkhand (who fought the Moguls), the *Chatra-prakāśa*, in 1707 A. D., is to be specially mentioned. Guru Govind Singh, the last Sikh Guru (1666-1709), who composed a number of important works, some in an old, almost Apabhraṃśa style of Hindi (e. g. the *Bicitra-nāṭaka* and the *Caṇḍī-Caritra*), can certainly be described as one of the illustrious writers of Hindi. Mention must also be made of Ghana Ānand (1699-1740), who was a most versatile and powerful poet, recognized as one of the pillars of Braj-bhasha.

It may be said that all this literature was entirely in verse. But the beginnings of Hindi Prose (both Khaṛī-Bōlī i. e. Delhi Hindi, and Braj-bhakha) go back to the 16th century, particularly in the biographies of some Vaishnava (*Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*) devotees. In the 18th century, in the rendering of the Sanskrit *Yōgavāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* in Hindi prose by Rāma-prasād Niranjani of Patiala (completed in 1741) and in the Jain *Padma-purāṇa* of Pandit Daulat-rām of Baswa in the Madhya Pradesh (1761), very good Modern Hindi (Khaṛī-

bhōlī) prose was a *fait accompli*. They were followed by Munshi Sadāsukhlāl Niyāz of Delhi, who was a good scholar of Persian and wrote poems in Persian and Urdu, but who wrote in very good Sanskritic Hindi some episodes from the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* in 1818, quite independently of what may be called the modern movement in Hindi literature which started from 1800 in Calcutta under English auspices. His Hindi is the best of the first half-a-dozen writers of the 18th-19th century.

With the dawn of the 19th century, Hindi entered a new, i. e. its modern phase.

(6) Hindi Literature, 1800-1950

With the nineteenth century, the modern epoch of Hindi literature started, but for the first half of the century the progress was very slow. It was in a peculiar situation. A prose literature in Hindi had just begun, to be composed and published from Calcutta, but the language of this prose was roughly the standard speech of Delhi, identical in grammar (though not in script and higher vocabulary, and sometimes syntax) with Urdu, the Muslim form of Hindi. The extent of this prose was very meagre, and in front of it there was a vast literature in verse, almost entirely in other dialects and even languages (grammatically looked at)—in Braj-bhasha, in Awadhi, in Rajasthani, and in all mixed forms of speech, but hardly any verse in the new language employed in prose. Gradually, from the second half of the 19th century, the language of Hindi prose also invaded the domain of poetry, and now there is no diversity of speech or dialect in the two wings of literature, although many writers still essay the Braj-bhasha (the tradition is too strong), and occasionally a few also in the Awadhi. As late as 1945, a very successful work in Awadhi in the style of Tulasī-dāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa* has been published on the life of Krishna, the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* by Dwārakā Prasād Miśra, then a Minister of the Central Provinces State, which has been noted before.

Calcutta in a way became the place towards which the people of North India—the entire Hindi-speaking and Hindi-using area, from the east of the Panjab, and from Rajputana and Central India, turned, for business, for education and culture, for employment and display of talents, and for sojourn. In fact, it became the culture-centre, both for the Modern Culture from Europe and the

older culture of the country, not only for Bengal but also for Assam, Bihar, Orissa, and North India generally. Money was to be made in Calcutta, and the modern outlook, so necessary for the present day, could easily be obtained by contact with Bengalis of education and culture who did not cut themselves off from the ancient higher culture of India, in music, in the traditional artistic crafts, in Sanskrit and Persian and Hindi studies, while they were learning English and were writing and developing their own language and publishing journals and books in it. The educated Bengali became an object-lesson for Indian people for the proper balance between both the native culture of India and the foreign learning and foreign ways brought by the Englishman, which might be bewildering and repugnant at first sight, but the value of which, at least in some matters, had to be admitted. Right down to the end of the 19th century, the "English-educated" Bengali and what he did for his language became the pattern to follow, for a growing North-Indian Hindi-using *intelligentsia*.

The period 1800-1850 was one of transition, of gathering strength. In poetry, the old styles, now lifeless through over-production, continued. But a prose literature came into being, which was needed by the new change of outlook. For this, the English scholar James Gilchrist, in charge of the Fort William College in Calcutta, founded in the year 1799, deserves a good deal of credit, since to meet the demand for good works which could serve as text-books in prose, he induced Bengali, Hindi (Khaṛī-Bōlī and Braj-bhāṣhā) and Urdu writers to compose prose works. On the basis of what early prose in Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi was available, Lallūjī Lāl from Agra (1763-1835) wrote his *Prēm-sāgar* (1803), the story of Krishna's early life as described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This work became immensely popular, and became the great model and exemplar for Hindi prose from the beginning. It is one of the early Hindi (Khaṛī-Bōlī) prose classics, although its language occasionally smacks of the Braj-bhasha. He also prepared, in very good Braj-bhasha prose, a rendering of the Sanskrit work *Hitōpadēśa*—the well-known collection of beast-fables, which has become through Middle Persian, Arabic, Syriac and Latin versions a World Classic as the "Fables of Pilpay". He returned to Agra in 1824, and he brought his printing press which he had started in Calcutta to Agra, and from there he began to publish his own and older

Hindi books, and this was a definite service to incipient Hindi literature.

Lallūjī Lāl knew Urdu well, and previously he had written, in some cases in collaboration with a Muslim colleague, some collections of old stories in Urdu, like the *Sinhāsan-battīsī*, the *Baitāl-pacīsī* and the stories of Śakuntalā and Mādhavānala. In 1805, Tārīnī Charaṇ Mitra, a Bengali, prepared a Sanskritic Hindi rendering of the *Baitāl-pacīsī*, which was translated into elegant Bengali prose by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in 1847.

Paṇḍit Sadal Miśra, a Bhojpuri-speaking scholar from Bihar who was also a teacher in the Calcutta College of Fort William, emulated his contemporary Paṇḍit Lallūjī Lāl in writing another model work in Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi prose, the *Nāsikētōpākhyān*, a story based on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* of Sanskrit. In spite of some literary Braj-bhasha forms and Bihari words, this work is also a landmark in Early Hindi prose. In 1824, an anonymous writer wrote another Early Modern Hindi prose work, *Gōrā-Bādal-Ki Bāt*, a tale of Rajput heroism on which there is a poetic work by Jatmāl composed in 1623.

The work commenced by the pioneers in the 18th century, Rāma-prasād Niranjani, Paṇḍit Daulat-rām, and above all by Munshī Sadāsukhlāl Niyāz, came to be stabilized; and the Midland Speech, in its latest phase of a Sanskritized Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi, started on its career, which is now fraught with the greatest possibilities for the language, and began its conquest of the whole of Northern India.

The English Missionaries of the Baptist sect established early in the 19th century a great centre for Indian languages and dialects at Serampore near Calcutta in Bengal, and they, under the leadership of William Carey, who was himself a great linguist, started to translate the Bible (entire or in portions) in different Indian languages and dialects. Their work for Hindi and other speeches of North India has also to be given its recognition, in evolving an expressive literary style in the New Indo-Aryan speeches, particularly in Bengali and Hindi. In Calcutta was founded, through the co-operation of both English and Indian educationists, the School Book Society, of which a branch was set up in Agra about 1833, and this body did a great service for Hindi prose, by enlisting the services of Hindi-knowing Sanskrit scholars to translate or adapt English books into Hindi.

In the meanwhile, Hindi journalism came into the field when Paṇḍit Jugal Kiśōr of Kanpur started from Calcutta the first Hindi weekly, the *Udant Mārtaṇḍ* or "the Rising Sun" which continued only for 9 months. But its work was taken up by a series of other Hindi journals which began to be published from towns all over the Hindi-using area. A Bengali resident in Banaras brought out the *Sudhākar* from 1850, and Munshī Sadāsukhlāl published his *Buddhi-prakāś* from Agra in 1856. The history of Hindi journalism, however, need not detain us.

In the hands of Muslim writers, with considerable support from European officers, Urdu literature was also developing, and a French scholar, Garcin de Tassy, teacher of Hindi and Urdu in Paris, inaugurated the study of both Hindi and Urdu among continental scholars (through administrative reasons Englishmen were already interested in the study of these and other modern Indian languages) by his French work on Hindustani literature published in 1839. Later he advocated the simultaneous development of both the forms of the language, in 1852, although he was definitely in support of Urdu.

Two great educationists, Rājā Śivaprasād (c. 1860) in the United Provinces, and Nabin Chandra Roy (c. 1870), a Bengali, in the Panjab, also did a great deal to rehabilitate the place of Hindi vis-à-vis the officially sponsored Urdu in the Education Department. Rājā Lakshman Sinha also came forward with his translation of the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa and other works.

The first 50 years, from 1800 to 1850, roughly, formed also period of preparation for the present-day Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi as a language of literature. Particularly from about 1850, the prose style was becoming gradually established, taking as its basis the writings of Lallūji Lāl, Sadal Miśra, Tārīnī Charaṇ Mitra and a few others, and on the simple prose style of Urdu; and, above all, from the rapidly developing prose style of Modern Bengali. Translations from the Bengali from 1850 onwards helped to form and establish an effective modern Hindi (Khaṛī-Bōlī) prose style; and in its vocabulary as well as in its spirit, Hindi prose approximated most to Bengali prose, as can be expected. From 1850 to 1870, to the advent of Hariś Chandra and Dayānanda Saraswatī and other Ārya Samāj leaders, there was a period of

hesitancy in Hindi—as if the people, trained in the Urdu language and tradition, were not yet sure of Hindi.

A great writer of Hindi now came to the forefront—Hariś Chandra of Banaras, known also by his sobriquet of *Bhāratendu* the 'Moon of India' (1846-1884). His family was from the Brajbhasha area, and while he spoke the local Bhojpuri of Banaras, his own home language was Brajbhasha, and Western Hindi was his inheritance. He is universally acknowledged as one of the Makers of Modern Hindi. He wrote dramas (original, as well as translations from Sanskrit and Bengali), poems and essays, and was a versatile writer of genius. His success as a writer put new enthusiasm for literature in the Hindi domain. In drawing out the forces of the new Hindi prose, and in modernizing it, Hariś Chandra was ably followed by a host of other writers, particularly some industrious and clever journalists, and a large number of translators from Bengali. Their translations unquestionably helped to model Hindi prose style on that of Bengali, and they brought about in a very easy manner a Sanskritization of Hindi through translations of all kinds of fiction from Bengali, good, bad or indifferent, which was read with avidity by Hindi readers.

Hindi as the pan-Indian language through which the unity of India could be strengthened was supported by the great Bengali religious reformer Keshab Chandra Sen in 1876, in his well-known journal the *Sulabh Samācār*, and by a succession of educationists (like Bhūdēva Mukherji, c. 1885) and journalists and political workers (like Amritalāl Chakravarti, Kālīprasanna Kāvyaśārada and Pānchkoṛi Banerjee : c. 1908). Swāmī Dayānanda Saraswatī, founder of the *Ārya Samāj*, was a religious reformer and leader from Gujarat, and he adopted Hindi as the language of his preaching and propaganda ; and the *Ārya Samāj*, which he founded in 1879, had the greatest effect in reviving and spreading Hindi in the Panjab, Western U. P. (where Urdu was dominating) and Rajputana.

Through the support of the English Government, which had established without any effort Urdu as the language of the law-courts from Bihar to Panjab, looking upon Urdu as a heritage of Mogul India, the Urdu (Perso-Arabic) script had become fairly well-spread among people, especially those who were educated in English schools, and the native Nagari script was becoming terribly jeopardized. Hindi writers

and journalists started a Literary Academy for Hindi in the name of the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā* or 'Society for the Spread of Nagari (i. e. the Devanagari) Alphabet' (implying also the Sanskritic Hindi speech), at Banaras in 1893, about the same time when a similar academy for Bengali literature was founded in Calcutta—the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad*. From the eighties of the last century right down to 1900, a strong movement was started to force the British Government to acknowledge the Nagari script and Sanskritic Hindi for the law-courts also. This was a signal event for the development of Hindi, *vis-à-vis* Urdu with which it was in conflict, in its own province, and for the ultimate triumph of Hindi. The work of the *Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī-Sabhā* has been of great help for Hindi. Its comprehensive lexicon of Hindi (*Hindī Śabdasaṅgraha*—completed in 1923) and its editions of Hindi classics, including the huge *Prithwīraj Rāsau* (1905), were works of which any institution may be proud.

The history of Hindi literature from the eighties, after the death of Hariś Chandra, is simple. We have an ever-growing literary effort. The novel, the short story, the drama (particularly the one-act play, in which Hindi has specially distinguished itself in recent years), besides new styles in poetry, began to flourish. The influence of Bengali literature was tremendous in all these departments of literature. Apart from translations of the best classics of Bengali, particularly in fiction and in the drama (we should note that some of the top-ranking poets of Hindi at the present-day are good Bengali scholars also, well-read in Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath and Śarat Chandra, among other masters of Bengali literature), original writers also come along, writers who can be compared with the best in many languages. A list of Bengali classics in Hindi need not be given. Sanskrit and English literatures, and to some extent Persian literature, were also represented in translations. The case of Sanskrit as the feeder-language in both vocabulary and subject-matter, and as the language of Hindu culture, is of course different. In the formative period of Hindi prose, Sanskrit operated indirectly through Bengali. We have to mention the following writers as outstanding in Hindi literature of the present-day, and they include a few whose pioneer work has abiding value :

Lālā Śrinivāsa-dās of Mathura (1851-1887) was a pioneer dramatist, whose romantic dramas *Raṇadhīr-Prēmamōhinī* and

Sanjōgitā-Swayamvar are well-known, and were very popular. His *Parikṣā-guru* is one of the first original social novels of Hindi, written in a fresh colloquial style.

Pratāp Nārāyaṇ Miśra (1856-1894), Bālkrishna Bhaṭṭa (1844-1914), Badarīnārāyaṇ Chaudharī (1855-1922), Bālmukund Gupta of Rohtāk (1865-1907) with his associates Amritalāl Chakravartī, a Bengali, and Prabhudayāl Paṇḍē from Mathura, Chandradhar Śarmā Gulērī from Garhwal (1883-1920), and Mahābīr Prasād Dwivēdi (1870-1938) were journalists and essayists of note. The last was the editor of the well-known Allahabad Journal the *Saraswatī* which did not a little to raise the tone of Hindi journalism, in both form and content, and to establish a fine expressive Hindi prose style. Bālmukund Gupta and his two associates mentioned above were editing the *Hindī Bangawāsī*, a weekly paper from Calcutta, which for several decades from the nineties of the 19th century was the most influential Hindi newspaper, and through their joint efforts in this paper modern Hindi prose was considerably advanced.

In the drama, Hindi literature has not made so much progress (we have to make an exception of the late Jaya-Śaṅkar Prasād, Hari-Śaṅkar Bhaṭṭa, and Harikrishna Prēmī), though there is a good crop of one-act plays. A good deal of Bengali drama, as well as Bengali fiction, are read in Hindi translations, and Hindi versions of Bengali plays (e. g. by Dwijēndralāl Rāy) are also staged. Some Marathi and Gujarati works of fiction are also found in Hindi translations. Hindi drama writers however have made good progress in short one-act plays (*ekāṅkī*). Among writers of one-act plays, Prof. Rām Kumār Varmā holds a very high place, and there are over half a dozen successful writers in this line. The most popular of Hindi dramatists is Jaya-Śaṅkar Prasād, whose historical plays *Ajātaśatru*, *Skanda-gupta*, *Candra-gupta* and *Rājyaśrī* have, in spite of slow action and long speeches, served to evoke pictures of India's classic past. It is unfortunate that a proper theatre, true to the life and thought of the people, could not develop for Hindi, as it did for Bengali. The current use of the various local speeches in daily life, particularly of the masses, and not Khaṛī-Bōlī, throughout the greater extent of the 'Hindi area', has acted unquestionably as a handicap in bringing about a complete verisimilitude to life in the present-day Hindi drama. The vogue of the Parsi Theatrical Companies from Bombay, with their clap-trap devices and their

sensationalism, as well as use of a language reminiscent more of the *bazar* than of the home, was not conducive to an elevated tone and the proper development of the drama. We can now only look forward to real masters of the drama in Hindi making their advent in the not distant future.

The greatest novelist and short-story writer of Modern Hindi is Prēm Chand (from Eastern U. P. : 1880-1936). He was at first a writer of Urdu, and then he took up the Hindi style. Apart from his short stories, rivalling the best in any language and giving a most convincing and a sympathetic picture of the life of the people, and highly praised by Śarat Chandra Chatterji the eminent novelist of Bengali, he has some half a dozen bigger novels to his credit. His novels are social in their themes and analytic in their approach.

Prēm Chand as the most prominent Hindi novelist and short story writer has the distinction of being translated into other languages of India like Bengali and Gujarati, Marathi and Tamil, and into English and Russian.

It must be said that for a young language that Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi is, it has made a remarkable progress both in the novel and short story, and in poetry. The earlier writers like Dēvakī-nandan Khētrī and Kiśōrī-lāl Gōswāmī do not evoke much enthusiasm now, as they were making experiments in Hindi with an old-world mentality. Prem Chand was the first great modern writer, but he is perhaps greater as a short story writer than as a novelist. Jaya-Śaṅkar Prasād (1890-1938), who distinguished himself as a romantic and mystic poet as well as a historical dramatist, was the author of some social novels, two of which have a lyrical quality (*Chāyā*, and *Ākāś-dīp*). There are some powerful novelists in the modern realistic as well as psychological vein, among whom the most prominent are Pāṇḍē Bachchan Śarmā 'Ugra', whose realism at one time disconcerted the Hindi-reading public, and Jinēndra Kumār, the leader of the 'psychological novelists' in Hindi. In a different vein is the writer of historical novels, Brindāvan-lāl Varmā, whose romantic-realistic revivification of mediaeval Indian history has given him his special place in Hindi fiction. Some of his works recall Bankim Chandra Chatterji of Bengal. Other writers of Hindi fiction who are to be mentioned are Bhagavatī-prasād Bājpeyī, who is rather inclined towards the *risqué* in the relations between Man and Woman; Yash-pāl, evoking ancient history as in his *Diyā*,

and a powerful leftist and Marxist writer in his other works, sometimes giving an undue emphasis on sex, as critics have noted ; Upēndranāth Ashk, who is a progressive writer in both Hindi and Urdu ; S. H. Vātsyāyan, who uses the *nom-de-plume* 'Ajñēya', once in the editorial board of the influential Hindi newspaper the *Hindī Bangawāsī* which used to be published from Calcutta from the nineties of the last century ; Rām Chandra Tiwārī and Amrit-lāl Nāgar, authors of two novels centering round the Bengal famine of 1943 ; Bhagavatī-Charaṇ Varmā, who wanted to emancipate the Hindi novel from romanticism and idealism ; Dr. Dēv-Raj Dharm-Vīr ; Ilāchandra Jōshi, a Freudian protagonist in the field of Hindi ; besides others, either following the ordinary grooves of illustrative fiction, or romantic history, or "progressive" tendencies of modern European writers, or even propaganda of a particular "ism" (as e. g. the communist scholar Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana), or idealistic reconstruction of the past (e. g. Dr. Hazārī-prasād Dwivēdī) ; or, again, reflexion of the life around with its pathos and its humour—e. g. Sivapūjan Sahāy, Rādhikā-ramaṇ Sinha etc.

Some new styles of poetry, with a very large amount of Bengali and some English influence, came in during the second half of the 19th century. Śrīdhara Pāṭhak (1876-1928), Ayōdhyā Singh Upādhyāy 'Hari Audh' (1865-1946 : he was also a dramatist and a novelist), Mahābīr Prasād Dwivēdī (journalist—noted above) were among the writers who have passed away. Among the living poets of Hindi, the greatest names are Maithilī-Śaraṇ Gupta (born 1886 : he has quite a number of narrative poems to his credit, which are recognized already among the classics of Hindi poetry), Sūrya-Kānt Tripāṭhī 'Nirālā' (born 1897 : he brought in a completely new movement in Hindi—in freeing the metre from the bonds of rime and fixed length, and in bringing into it a new modernistic mystic note known as *chāyā-vāda*, literally the 'Shadow School') and Sumitrā-Nandan Pant (born 1900 : also an innovator in the modernistic vein), Mahādēvī Varmā (born 1907 : a poetess, also in the mystic vein), and the late Jaya-Śaṅkar Prasād (noted as a dramatist as well as a novelist, also one of the innovators). There is a good deal of influence of the Bengali poets, particularly Rabindranath Tagore, on this new school, as well as of English poets of the romantic schools. Maithilī-Śaraṇ Gupta, who is looked upon as the *doyen* of living Hindi poets, is a good Bengali scholar, and he translated

Michael (Māikēl) Madhusūdan Datta's epic the *Mēghanād-Badh-Kāvya* into Hindi. In his *Sāketa* and *Yaśōdharā*, long narrative poems, there is an evocation of the spirit of ancient India in a remarkable way. The former poem gives a beautiful treatment of a theme put forward by Rabindranath in one of his literary essays, where Urmilā, the wife of Lakṣmaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is treated as a heroine 'neglected' (*upekṣitā*) by the great author of the epic. Sūrya-Kant Tripāthī 'Nirālā', who lived a good part of his early life in Bengal, has been most profoundly influenced by Rabindranath, and through his poems he has done more than any other writer in Hindi to bring the modern Hindi poetic diction near to that of Bengali as in Rabindranath, having frequently bodily incorporated into Hindi not only the ideas but also words and phrases (in Sanskrit) from the Bengali of Rabindranath. Sumitrā-Nandan Pant is almost equally influenced by Rabindranath, but in his later poems he passed on from the mystic and the spiritual to the socialistic and the realistic, and then to the humanistic. He is looked upon as one of the progressive poets of Hindi. Among these great names, we have to mention specially that of the poetess, Śrīmatī Mahādēvī Varmā. She is one of the great poets of Hindi who is not acquainted with Bengali, yet her work is in line with that of the other *chāyā-vādī* or mystic-idealistic writers of Hindi. She is both an artist and a poet, like the English poet Blake. Jaya-Śaṅkar Prasād is the author of the *Kāmāyanī*, one of the most modern and most original poems in Hindi on the theme of Man and his mental and spiritual development, conceived on the background of an idealized ancient Indian life.

Other poets in Hindi are quite numerous, writing in the accepted style of poetry. With the innovators, the Khari-Bōli form of Hindi has come to its own, although the Braj-bhasha dialect still flourishes, and some Awadhi also.

The other well-known poets of Hindi now are Śrīmatī Subhadra Kumārī Chauhan, Paṇḍit Mākhan-lāl Chaturvēdi, Bālkrishna Śarmā 'Navīn', Rāmdhārī Singh 'Dinkar', Bharāt-Bhūshaṇ Agrawāl, Mohanlāl Mahatō 'Viyōgī', Kēdar-nāth Miśra 'Prabhāt', Jānaki-vallabh Śāstrī 'Suman', Dr. Rangeya Raghav, and the novelist 'Ajñeya', besides others.

Speakers of distinct dialects, and even (of languages) all over 'Hindī Sansār' or the Hindi World are now acquiring Hindi at

school ; and writers from all over North India, and even from other language-areas like those of Marathi and Gujarati, Panjabi and Bengali, Oriya and Telugu, and Kannada, even Malayalam and Tamil, are all helping to build up a great means of expression through Hindi. Side by side with this love for Hindi and an appreciation of its value in life, there is occasionally in the 'Hindī Sansār' a wistful solicitude for the speeches other than Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi. But the literary force of Hindi is now growing from strength to strength. Hindi is producing a mass of literature of information, of criticism, of philosophical thought and religion ; and a large amount of general prose literature, scientific and informative, which is so necessary for the mental development of a people, is coming into existence in Hindi. Among the powerful essayists, historians, philosophers and other prose-writers of Hindi at present day may be mentioned Dr. Hazārī-prasād Dwivedī, Śrī Śivapūjan Sahāy, the late Dr. Barthwal, Biśwanāth Prasād Miśra, Mātā Prasād Gupta, Śrī Nagendra, Prof. Nand Dulārē Bājpēyī, Prof. Rām Bilās Śarmā, Dr. Prabhākar Māchwe (a Maharashtrian), Śrī Keśarī Kumār, Śrī Jagadīś Paṇḍēya, Śrī Naresh, Dr. Vāsudēva Śaraṇa Agravāla, (eminent historian and authority on ancient Indian life and culture), and the late Chandrabālī Paṇḍē.

The present-day writers of Hindi are quite numerous, and they represent a population of 140 to 150 millions. This vast population, ready to receive Hindi works, is offering to Hindi a greater opportunity than is the lot for any other Indian language. With the spread of a modernistic culture which is not divorced from the bases of Indianism, with a scientific attitude not too much bound up by tradition and at the same time alive to the permanent and universal qualities of the Indian mind, Hindi literature is certain to rise to unpremeditated heights in the near future, provided a free and unfettered life is also guaranteed in an Independent India, at peace with her neighbours, particularly with China, and with Pakistan becoming more and more alive to the greatness and human values of its common heritage with India, and provided there is allowed the fullest play of the modern spirit of curiosity and rationality, universalism and imaginativeness.

URDU LITERATURE

I Early Period : Dakhni Literature, to 1700 A. D.

The word "Urdū" means in India 'court or camp', and it is a Persianized Turki word which originally meant 'the Camp of a Turki Army', in Turki *Ordu*, which has also given the English word *horde*, and which also means 'tent' or 'home'. North Indian Muslims, with Hindu allies and associates, speaking dialects of Western Hindi and Panjabi, went to Central and South India, and carved out Muslim Kingdoms for themselves, settling down among Marathas, Kannadigas and Telugus. The dialects they took with them supplied the basis of a literary speech they developed from the 15th century. It was known as the *Dakhni* or the 'Southern Speech'. From the beginning, its employers, mostly Muslims, freed from the Hindu atmosphere which was around their language in North India, used the Perso-Arabic script in writing it. This two-fold characteristic—its employment in the hands of Muslims, and its being written in the Perso-Arabic character—gradually created a new literary tradition for it. Although it became largely Persian and Muslim in its attitude, it retained, upto the end of the 17th century, a good deal of its Indian vocabulary and Indian literary *cachets* and *clichés*. The literature in Dakhni was confined (as a matter of fact, until recently it has remained confined) to the Deccan and South Indian Muslims ; and although Deccani Muslim scholars like Dr. S. Mohiuddin Qadri 'Zōr' and Prof. Chand Husain Shaikh are studying it, in a series of editions, books and monographs, it is not yet much known either in North India or in the outside world. Mention must be made of some articles on Dakhni literature, by the late Dr. T. Grahame Bailey in the London *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, by Braj-ratna Dās in the Hindi *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā* of Banaras, and in the *Journal of the Société Asiatique* by various scholars, besides Prof. Shaikh's English articles in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College of Poona*. A good deal of it, if printed in the Nagari, would be claimed for Hindi literature also, as particularly in the earlier writers the language was not so much Persianized as in North Indian Urdu from 1750 onwards, and

the atmosphere is of pure Hindu literature as in the works of Kabīr and Malik Muhammad Jāyasī, despite the fact that the themes or attitudes, or both, are mostly Islamic and Persian.

Dakhni literature developed in different centres—in Gujarat, in Bidar, in Golkonda and in Bijapur, as well as in Aurangabad. The oldest writer in this Muslim Hindi tradition in the Deccan was Sayyid Muhammad Banda-Nawāz Gēsū-Darāz (died 1442), a Sufi teacher, who is said to have written over 100 works. One book by him, the *Mirāju-l-‘Āšiqīn* ('Ascent of Lovers') has been published from Hyderabad. It is a technical Sufi treatise, but it is to be seen how far the language is of the 14th-15th century. Other early writers were Shāh Mīranjī Shamsu-l-'Ushshāq (died 1496) and his son Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam (d. 1582). In the 16th century, Gujarat produced two great poets in this line—Shāh 'Alī Muhammad Jān Gamodhani (d. 1575), author of poems compiled as *Jawahiru-l-Asrār* ('Jewels of Secrets'), and Shaikh Khūb Muhammad, whose *Khūb Tarang* ('The Waves of Khūb', or 'the Good Waves') was written in 1578.

The Qutb Shāhī Kings of Golkonda (1590-1697), which is within the Telugu country, were great patrons of Dakhni. The illustrious Sultan Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh (1580-1611), the fourth King, and a contemporary of Akbar, was a talented literary man himself, and quite a romantic personality, whose poems have been published in a learned and beautiful edition from Haidarabad by Prof. S. Mohiuddin Qadri 'Zōr', and notes on him appeared in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, by Dr. Bailey. His compositions show him to be a gifted poet, and the language he uses is already well-formed, expressive and not yet too much Persianized. Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh, when a young prince, fell in love with a beautiful Hindu girl Bhāgamatī or Bhāgyamatī. His love was frowned upon by his father, but later he married her and made her his queen, and built in her honour at the foot of Golkonda Hill a new city called 'Bhāgya-nagar,' which name was changed to 'Haidarābād' after Bhāgamatī was given the Muslim name of Haidar Begam. Some of his contemporaries and successors were also good poets of Dakhni. Mullā Wajhī was in the Court of Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh, and he wrote the romantic poem, *Qutub Muštari* (c. 1609), treating of the love of the Golkonda prince for Bhāgamatī, and the *Sab Ras*, a treatise on Sufi doctrines, from the Persian.

In the 17th century, among Golkonda poets were Ghawwāsī two works of whom are well-known—the Romance of Saifu-l-Mulūk and Badī'u-l-Jamāl, from a Persian version of the *Arabian Nights* story, and the *Tūtī-nāmah*, a cycle of romantic tales from the Persian, ultimately of Indian origin; Ibn-i-Nishati, who wrote the *Phul-ban* (1655: the name is Hindi—'Flower Garden'—a romance of about 3500 lines), and Tab'ī, who wrote a Dakhni adaptation of the Persian poet Nizāmī's *Haft Paikar* (*Qissa-i-Bahrām-wa-Gul-andām*, 1670). There were other romance-writers in this group of poets from Golkonda.

The Bijapur Sultans ruled over Marathi and Kannada speakers, but under their patronage (1590-1686), Dakhni writers composed many works. Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1626), like his contemporary Sultān Md. Qūlī Qutb Shāh of Golkonda, was a patron of letters and music, and a cultured man who built a garden-city near his capital to which he gave a Hindi name—*Nau-ras-pur* or 'the City of the nine *Rasas*—flavours, or pleasures', and his work in Dakhni on music was known as *Nav-ras-nāmah*, with Persian preface by two Muslim scholars. Hasan Shawqī during the rule of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1626-1656) wrote a heroic poem in Dakhni, the *Fath-nāma-Nizām Shāh*, describing the battle of Talikoṭa (1565) in which the combined forces of the five Muslim states of the Deccan crushed the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. Rustumī wrote a poem in epic vein, the *Khawār-nāma* (1649), giving the story of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet. Malik Khushnud, also of the court of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, wrote two romances of Persian origin, *Bahrām* (6,500 lines) and *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikha*. Nusratī, one of the greatest of Dakhni poets, lived in the Court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (1656-1673)—was a Hindu (Brahman) who had a Muslim pen-name. He composed a number of works, of which one is of the nature of a panegyric on his master, the '*Alī-nāmah*, and another is a romance on a Hindu theme, the love-story of Manohar and Madhumālātī, known as the *Gulshan-i-'Iṣq* (8000 lines: this is one of the Sufi poems on Hindu romantic themes written in Awadhi in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries in North India; it is to be seen if this work is indebted to the poem of Manjhan, see before, where the hero and the heroine have the same name; one is reminded of the poet 'Ālam, a writer on Hindu romance without Sufi implications, see before). (A de-luxe manuscript of this work in

Persian characters with nearly one hundred miniatures in colours and gold in the Mogul style, from the library of Tipū Sultān of Mysore, is now in the Museum of Art in Philadelphia U.S.A.). He has also lyrics and odes to his credit, and his style has been thus praised by a competent judge of Dakhni literature : "He excelled in lofty imagination, freshness of subject, and aptness of diction." More than half a dozen important poets of this régime are mentioned : one of whom, Mīrān Hāshimī, composed a long romance of 12,000 lines.

The whole of Muslim Deccan was conquered by Aurangzēb, but upto 1700, verse-writing in Dakhni continued, and then by the first half of the 18th century, the mantle of Dakhni fell on the Urdu speech of Delhi, into which this 'colonial form' of a North Indian speech virtually merged. There were more than seven important poets of Dakhni during the reign of Aurangzēb as the conqueror of the last Muslim states of the Deccan. Of them one, Shāh Husain Zawqī, Bahru-l-Irfān, gave a new version of Mullā Wajhī's *Sab-ras* and named it *Wisālu-l-Āshiqin* ('the Union of Lovers') or *Husn-i-Dil* ('Beauty of Heart'), and wrote a work *Mā-bāp-nāmah* ('the Book of the Mother and the Father') in praise of the Sufi mystic and saint Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī ; another, Qāzī Muhammad Bahrī (c. 1680-1700) of Gōgī wrote the poem *Man-lagan* (this Hindi title means 'the Attraction of the Mind') ; and Muhammad Fayyāz Walī of Vellore (c. 1690-1707) wrote in 8000 lines a new version of Malik Muhammad Jāyasī's *Padumāwati* which he called *Qissa-e-Ratan-wa-Padam* ('the story of Ratna-sēna and Padminī').

(2) Middle Period : the Origin and Early Literary History of Northern Indian (Delhi) Urdu : 1700-1875

As we have seen before, a literature in an Indian language of a purely Muslim inspiration did not come into being in North India before 1700. Aurangzēb, during the last decades of the 17th century, went with his court and his troops to be in continuous fighting and permanent encampment in the Deccan. His aim was to subjugate the last independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan (Golkonda and Bijapur,) and to fight the Marathas. The Delhi speech, as current in his court, in contrast with the Dakhni of the Deccan, came to acquire the common name of *Hindustānī* (i.e. Hindustān or North Indian speech, as opposed to Dakhni or speech of the Deccan), and a polite name for it was *Zabān-e-Urdū-e-Mu'allā* or 'the Language of

the exalted Camp or Court', i. e. of the Mogul Emperor. The Court was known also as *Urdū* or 'Camp' in Delhi as well—a meaning which was a legacy of their Turkish ancestry for the Mogul royal house. This name was curtailed to *Zabān-e-Urdū*, and then finally, after 1750, to simply *Urdū*, to mean the language.

North Indian Muslims from Delhi sojourning in the South, as well as some Dakhni writers, saw the possibilities of the Hindustānī Khari-Bōlī or the Standard Speech of Delhi, if it was cultivated completely along the well-established literary traditions of Dakhni, as a Muslim language written exclusively in the Persian script, and using by preference Perso-Arabic words and idioms and themes and ideas. One poet of Dakhni, well-established in his language, started the North Indian Urdu. Nearly one-third of his *Kulliyāt* or published work is in pure Dakhni; the rest is in a mixture of Dakhni and Urdu (as he was first essaying the North Indian Delhi speech), and also in pure North Indian Urdu. His full name was Shamsuddīn Walīullāh, and *Walī* was his *taxallus* or pen-name (? 1668-1741). He belonged to Aurangābad, where he would appear to have begun to cultivate the Hindustānī or Delhi speech, as opposed to his own native Dakhni. In 1721 (or later ?) he came to Delhi and settled there, and started a school of poetry—the first Urdu school of poetry: and he died in 1741. Walī's style was not deliberately highly Persianized, Hindu or native Hindi idioms and ideas are common. Other Dakhni poets followed the example of Walī in cultivating the Delhi speech in the style of Dakhni; but in Delhi, Walī's place as the innovator of a new language and a new poetry was taken by his pupil Sirājuddīn Sirāj, also from Aurangabad. Crowded poetical gatherings used to take place in the house of Walī, and later in that of Sirāj, who left short poems to the extent of 10,000 lines, and a romance, *Bustān-i-Khiyāl* ('the Garden of Fancy'). Other poets from Aurangabad also came to help in this new literary upsurge in Delhi.

Delhi Urdu as a Muslim language thus came into being. The Court circles, and the Persian and Arabic scholars, and particularly Muslims in Delhi of recent foreign origin, took to this new language with enthusiasm. Coteries of poets grew up, who became language-reformers; their zeal was for introducing Persian and Arabic words to saturation, to eschew Hindi and Sanskrit words as far as possible, and to forget in their compositions everything about India. The political situation was partly responsible for this. The rise of the

Marathas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs and the Jats, and the coming of the English to the forefront, made the Muslim Mogul power merely a shadow of its past glory. The poets created an ivory tower of art, where there was the pure atmosphere of extra-Indian Islam, and into this tower they sought to retire and escape. It is not fully correct to say that Urdu as used in literature grew in the *bāzārs* of Delhi through the joint co-operation of Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim literary coteries in Delhi used to send out lists of Hindi and Sanskrit words to Urdu literary centres outside Delhi, as words which were proscribed. Against this kind of literary movement, protests have been recorded by Muslim writers of Hindi in the 18th century, like Nūr Muhammad. In the middle of the 18th century, in court intrigues in Delhi, the faction of Muslim nobles of recent Persian and Turki origin came to power, to the exclusion of the faction of the Muslims of Indian origin : and this fact has something to do with the extra support received by Persianized Urdu at its inception in Delhi. The Mogul emperors from Akbar downwards were all credited with poems and distichs in Braj-bhasha ; but from the end of the 18th century, the scions of the Mogul house turned to only Urdu.

Urdu poetry, upto the fourth quarter of the 19th century, was just a reflex of Persian poetry. Nothing in it but a few common words, inflexions, post-positions and verbs were Hindi. The Urdu poets thought and wrote in terms of Persian poetry. The references were to things and events and ideas of Persia and Arabia. They use names of all Persian flowers, all the little streams of Persia, and its towns and provinces and its hills and mountains, but they never mention an Indian flower or an Indian river or mountain or town, much less an Indian hero or heroine. It was an absolute and deliberate shutting of their eyes and ears and mind to all the great things of their own country, the soil of which, according to a great Urdu poet, was *nāpāk* or 'impure'. It was this mentality—an incapacity to appreciate or acknowledge their Indian heritage out of an excessive zeal for Arab and Irani Islam—which was largely responsible for half the sorrows of monder India, including her recent dismemberment.

For an average non-Muslim Indian, *vis-à-vis* the original poetry of Persia, Urdu poetry imitating Persian was without any significance—it was barren, unless he found pleasure in a literary *tour-de-force*. There was however a good deal of naturalness when the language followed closely the spoken idiom of Hindustani, and this

the Hindus also fully appreciated. There was no prose in it at first, except in letters, and in some literary memoirs. As largely with Hindi, Urdu prose also made a start under English inspiration, from the College of Fort William in Calcutta, where Mīr Amman was commissioned to write the first romantic story in Persianized Urdu—the *Cahār-Darwēš*. Law-books were translated from English in Persianized Urdu. Journals appeared, and North Indian Muslims, particularly town people, took up this language, of a Muslim inspiration from its inception, as a matter of course.

The early poets of Urdu were quite numerous. For the first 50 or 60 years, the influence of the Dakhni poets who came and settled in Delhi continued, and Sufi thought, as well as a simplicity and even an Indianness of diction prevailed. Then it became more and more Persianized.

Four great early poets have been called 'the Four Pillars of Urdu'. They are : Mīrzā Jān-i-Jānān Mazhar of Delhi (1699-1781) ; Mīr Taqī of Agra (1720-1808 : a voluminous writer, some 40,000 lines, mostly on love in the conventional Persian style, and *Marsiyyās* or Elegies on the tragedy of the Karbala battle as well as on the sorrows and sufferings of life, which brought in a new note) ; Muhammad Rafī Saudā (1713-1780 : writer of satire and elegies) ; and Mīr Dard (1719-1785 : he composed Sufi religious lyrics). Other poets of the old school were : Mīr Hasan (1736-1786 : wrote, in addition to other poetry, a popular Urdu romance on the love of Prince Bēnazīr and Princes Badr-i-Munīr) ; Ghulām Hamdānī Mas-hafī (1750-1824 : lyrist and romancier, as well as compiler of an Urdu anthology of 300 poets—showing the extent of Urdu poetry at that early date) ; Inshā Allāh Khān (born at Murshidabad in Bengal, lived mostly in Lucknow, and died 1817 : writer of humour ; author of a grammatical treatise in Persian on Urdu, the *Daryā-i-Latāfat* or 'Ocean of Grace' ; he was a master of languages and dialects, and he wrote as a *tour-de-force* a work composed entirely in pure Hindi words without bringing in a single Arabic or Persian word—the *Thaṭh Hindī-kī Thāṭ*, or *Kahānī Rānī Kētakī-kī*, which style was imitated in Hindi by Hari Audh, who also eschewed even pure Sanskrit words) ; and Haidar 'Alī Ātish (d. 1847), Imām Bakhsh Nāsikh (d. 1838), Salāmat 'Alī Dabīr (1830-1875), Bābar 'Alī Anīs (1802-1874, a voluminous writer, of some 1,00,000 lines)—some of whom were, as can be seen, exceedingly prolific writers, creating an astonishing amount of literature within half a century.

Rather remarkable among the Urdu poets of this first period was Muhammad Nazir of Agra (1740-1830), whom European literary taste has regarded to be the most human, and the most enduring poet among the early writers of Urdu. Nazir composed his Urdu poems not on the conventional Sufi or Persian themes, nor on love treated in the conventional way, but on all sorts of subjects relating to Indian life, in a racy colloquial language not too much Persianized, which is also the language of the Hindus. He treated some Hindu themes also (Krishna's Childhood ; the *Jōgī* ; *Hōlī* ; the Joy of the Brahman ; the Iron Age ; the Rains ; besides some Hindi *dōhās*) in his inimitably simple way ; and his *Banjārā-nīmah*, a poem on the transitoriness of things, and his *Ādmī-nāmah*, on 'Man', essentially great in his dignity, whether good or bad, are great poems in any Indian language.

In 1772, Ghāziuddīn Haidar, a nobleman from Delhi, came to Lucknow (Lakhnaū) as Governor of Oudh. He soon started an independent line of Kings in Lucknow (the Kings of Oudh) which ruled till 1856. Lucknow became from now a rival city of Delhi for the patronage of Urdu literature, although the language of the area where Lucknow is situated is Awadhi. This establishment of Urdu in the Court of Lucknow helped a great deal in the dissemination of the Delhi speech in Central and Eastern U. P., just as Haidarabad and Lahore, Patna and Calcutta later became other centres for the diffusion of Urdu. The Muslim people of the Deccan were quite content to let Dakhni gradually come down to the position of a local *patois*, as a community dialect, the home-language of the 'Mulki' or South-country Muslims, and they quietly accepted 'Shimālī' i.e. Northern or Delhi Urdu. Great Urdu poets received the patronage of the Lucknow house, as well as of the Nizām in Haidarabad, and of the Muslim Nawāb of Rāmpur in the U. P. The most illustrious Urdu poets of the pre-modern period were—Muhammad Ibrāhim Zauq of Delhi (1789-1854 : writer of *Qasīdas*) ; and Nazmuddaulah Dabīru-l-Mulk Mirzā Asadullāh Khān Ghālib (1797-1869). Ghālib was a Sufi and a mystic who wrote in both Persian and Urdu, and he inaugurated literary history and criticism through his letters. He is regarded by most authorities on Urdu as the greatest poet of Urdu before the modern age, because of his human sympathies, and his Sufi feel for the Ultimate Reality, as well as for the profundity of his observations and the simplicity and beauty of his lines. (Of the five commemorative

postage stamps in honour of poets of North India issued by the Government of India some years ago, one was of Ghālib—the other four being of Kabīr, Tulasī-dāsa, Mīrā Bāi and Rabindranāth Tagore ; and stamps in honour of the Tamil poet Tiruvalluvar and the Telugu devotional lyricist Tyāgarāya were issued later). Other great 19th century poets of Urdu were Muhammad Mu'min Khān Mu'min (1800-1851)—a versatile scholar who was also a *Hakīm* or Physician as well as an astronomer, and a poet who wrote *ghazals*, *qasidas* and *masnavis* ; and Amīr Ahmad Mīnā'i (1828-1900), and Nawāb Mīrzā Khān Dāgh, a pupil of Zauq, (1831-1905), scholars and poets, who lived under the patronage of the Nawābs of Rāmpur in the U. P.

The "Sepoy Mutiny" or Revolt of the Indian Army against the British, now looked upon as the Indian War of Independence of 1857, was waged mainly by the Hindu troops ('Pandies' or Pāṇḍēs) in the English East India Company's Army, but they wanted to make the last *fai-néant* Mogul Emperor of Delhi, Bahādur Shāh II, once again the real emperor of India. The rising, marked by some barbarous cruelty on the part of the rebel troops, and by still greater and savage cruelty by the British, was crushed, and after that the English followed a policy of alternately supporting the Hindus and then the Muslims, one against the other community. The Hindus took to English education with keenness, but the Muslims remained aloof. At this juncture, a great leader and educationist Sir Sayyad Ahmad (1817-1898) arose among the Muslims of North India, and he was able to start a new movement among Muslims for education, and co-operation with the English. This brought in a new pulsation of religious, cultural and political consciousness among the Muslims ; and from the time of his foundation of the *Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College* at Aligarh (its seal had the symbols of a date-palm for Arabia, a crown for the British rule, and the crescent for Islam), the new or modern period of Urdu began (1875). Sir Sayyad Ahmad's great contribution to Urdu literature was his letters (famous as those of Ghālib) and his historical work *Asāru-s-Sanadiya*.

(3) Modern Urdu Literature : 1875-1950

This stage of Urdu naturally divides itself into two periods, the period of the Aligarh Movement started by Sir Sayyad Ahmad, and

the period dominated by the influence of Sir Muhammad Iqbāl. Roughly, the year 1920 may be said to form the dividing line. With the coming of Sir Sayyad Ahmad in the domain of Indian public life and politics, the Indian Muslims (both of native Indian and naturalized foreign origin) became more and more conscious of their Islamic rather than their Indian heritage ; and Pan-Islamism, with the Sultān of Turkey at its head as the Caliph of all Muslims, became a dream with many of the Muslim *intelligentsia* in India. Subsequent events in Europe (e. g. the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the abolition of the Caliphate) shattered that dream, but the idea of Islamic solidarity within India was more and more strengthened. Study of Muslim history took a new significance, whether of India or abroad. A number of Muslim (Urdu) prose-writers of eminence, historians and essayists, came to the front : Maulavi Zakāullāh, Shiblī Nu'mānī (historian and essayist), Muhammad Husain Āzād (1829-1910), Maulavī Nazīr Ahmad (novelist), and above all, Altāf Husain Pānipatī, known as Hālī or 'the Modern One' (1837-1914), the great poet of this Muslim revival, and the innovator of the modern spirit in Urdu poetry. All these writers show rare human qualities. Nazīr Ahmad's sketches of Delhi Muslim life in his novels are delightful, and Hālī wrote with a breadth of vision and sympathy which did not exclude the Hindus, although by conviction he was a Muslim rationalist and revivalist.

Hindu writers of Urdu were not long in coming. Among the earlier writers, the most important is the novelist of Lucknow life, Pandit Ratan-nāth Sarshār, the author of the *Fisāna-e-Āzād*, a book which depicts with astonishing verisimilitude the social life of Lucknow. Mīrzā Rashwa wrote, after Sarshār, a realistic study of the life of a Lucknow *bayadère* called *Umrāo Jān Adā*. Muslim novelists who wrote historical novels in the style of Sir Walter Scott also published their works, like 'Azīz-O-Warjīna (= *Virginia*), which is a tale of the Crusades, and *Mansūr-O-Mohanā* (which has as its background the conquests of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna in Gujarat) : these were both written by the well-known journalist and novelist Maulavī 'Abdul Hālim Sharar (Lucknow and Haidarabad). In Panjab and Western U. P., the Hindus used Urdu as it was the professional man's language, and quite a journeyman literature, of information rather than of power, was produced by them. An outstanding Hindu poet of Urdu

was Brij Narain Chakbast (1882-1926), who was of Kashmiri Brahman origin. His poems are full of the spirit of nationalism, and his diction is remarkably simple and pure.

The present age of Urdu is dominated by the spirit of Sir Muhammad Iqbāl (1875-1937). Born in a family of Kashmiri Brahmans settled in India, he studied philosophy in England and Germany, after taking his M. A. degree in Lahore. At first he was an Indian nationalist in his outlook and ideas, but gradually he gave a new interpretation to the ideals of Islam, and his teachings made him one of the ideological supporters of Muslim separatism from the Hindus and from India, and a founder of Pākistān. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl was equally at home in both Persian and Urdu. His socio-political and religious doctrines went counter to the quietism and acceptance preached by traditional Sufism. It was rather a militant doctrine of action, of fight to achieve an ideal placed before Man, and this ideal was that of primitive Islam which in Iqbāl's opinion was preached by the Prophet—to select the narrow path of shaping one's destiny and forging ahead, 'heart within and God overhead.' This doctrine of action naturally made Iqbāl the great leader of Indian Muslims. He was unquestionably a magnetic force in present-day Indian Muslim thought and politics, and his influence on the larger percentage of Muslims in India and Pakistan continues unabated. His two longer poems the *Shiqwah* ('Complaint') and the *Jawāb-i-Shiqwah* ('Reply to the Complaint') are looked upon as the *Mein Kampf* of Muslim revivalists in India who were for separation from India in both spirit and political rehabilitation. These poems give, in the form of a complaint before Allāh, a lurid picture of the adverse circumstances in which the Muslims in India were supposed to have fallen, and the sequel gives the remedies prescribed by God for Muslim uplift.

One of the most popular poets of modern Urdu is the late Sayyad Akbar Husain Razvī Ilāhābādī (1846-1921), who had a remarkable flair for extempore composition of piquant, satiric and humorous verses. He was a government servant, but a very staunch nationalist, and an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi. He preferred old ways of life and thought, but nevertheless there is a charm of novelty heightened by sincerity in all that he wrote. His poems are brilliant comments on various aspects of the present-day social, cultural and political life of India.

Modern Urdu literature, particularly after 1936, has also developed 'progressive' tendencies, and new lines of approach to the problems of life are becoming increasingly prominent. The short story and the novel, as well as the essay, and of course poetry, were the venues through which this progressive or modern spirit found its expression. The creators and exponents of this modernism in Urdu literature are, among others, the story-writer Muhammad Husain Askarī (originally of Allahabad, now in Pakistan), the late Mīrānji, Faiz Ahmad 'Faiz', Sardār 'Alī Ja'fari of Balrāmpur (Gonda, U. P.), Ahmad 'Ali of U. P. (now in Pakistan), Sajjād Zāhir from Jaunpur in U. P., a progressive writer of great charm and sincere human feelings, Khwājah Ahmad 'Abbās (of the family of Halī Pānīpatī), Sāghir Nizāmī of Meerut, the late Qāzī 'Abdul Ghaffār from Delhi, Hafiz Jalandharī (now in Pakistan), Upindar Nāth Ashq, and Shabir Husain Khān Jōsh Malihābādī of U. P. (now in Pakistan); besides Prēm Chand, who later on passed from Urdu to Hindi, and became the greatest novelist of Hindi. Jōsh Malihābādī is perhaps the most popular and most powerful of living Urdu poets, with a remarkable command over language. Raghupati Sahāy Firāq Gōrakhpurī (born 1896) is another popular poet in the same line. As usual, Marxism and Communism also have their ardent exponents in Modern Urdu literature, and among these are to be mentioned Sardār 'Ali Ja'fari, Parvēz Shāhidi of Patna and Calcutta (who insists upon the supreme place of Art in literature, and demands that Propaganda must never be given precedence over Art), Kaifī Azamī of Azamgarh (U. P.), Makhdūm Muhyiuddīn (from Haidarabad Deccan), the late Asrāru-l-Haqq Majāz of U. P. (who was cut off at an early age and who had promised to be one of the great leaders of modern Urdu), Sāhir Ludhiānī, Jagannath Āzād (born 1918 in N. W. Panjab), Majrūh Sultānpurī and Kanhaiyālāl Kapūr.

The liberalizing and modernizing spirit of Bengali literature has also penetrated into Urdu through translations. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Śarat Chandra Chatterji and Tārā Śankar Banerji, Mānik Banerji and a number of other living writers, and above all, Rabindranāth Tagore, have been translated into Urdu. The message of Rabindranāth Tagore is gradually being understood and appreciated. There is a silent penetration into Urdu of the modern spirit from the prominent writers of Bengali, more than from any other modern Indian

literature (some of it coming through Hindi) ; and, of course, from English literature.

In modern Urdu literature, there are of course other strands than the Islamic only. Some Hindus of the Panjab and Western U. P. have made Urdu their very own, and both Hindu and Muslim writers have written short stories in Urdu which are among the best productions of Modern Indian literature for their human qualities. Among Hindu (and Sikh) writers of Urdu short stories may be mentioned Krishan Chandar (born 1912), Rājindar Singh Bēdī, Kanhaiyālāl Kapūr, Upindar Nāth Ashq and Dr. Mōhan Singh. Krishan Chandar is one of the most popular writers of present-day Urdu, and Kanhaiyālāl Kapūr, a progressive writer, is also a great satirist. Orthodox Hindu (Sanātani), Sikh and Ārya Samāj propaganda has been done through Urdu ; and quite a mass of Sanskrit and other Hindu literature, side by side with Arabic and Persian literature, is available in translation in Urdu. The attempt to establish Urdu as the medium of University education in the Osmania University in Haidarabad had also helped to extend the literature of information in Urdu, in both the Humanities and the Sciences.

Urdu in India has no longer got the same position of privilege which it enjoyed during the last hundred years and more of British rule. In Pakistan, Urdu is the official language after English, and Bengali also has been given a place beside Urdu ; but what shape Urdu will take in the novel circumstance in which it finds itself will be for the future to disclose. We must remember that Urdu is not the natural or home language of any section of people in the two Pakistans : in East Pakistan, it is Bengali, and in West Pakistan, it is Panjabi, Hindki, Sindhi, and Pashtu and Balochi as well as Brahui.

But Urdu literature is encouraged in West Pakistan—among the speakers of Panjabi and of Hindki or Lahnda particularly, who do not have a tradition of seriously cultivating their own languages, unlike the Sindhis. The official language of Jammu and Kashmir State is Urdu, and not Kashmiri or Dogri. A good many Muslim writers of undivided India either belonged to West Pakistan, or chose to settle there, and Pakistani and Indian Urdu literature cannot in any way be differentiated. Faiz Ahmad Faiz (one of the greatest of present-day Urdu poets), Ahmad Nadīm Qasmī, Zahir Kashmiri, and Abdul Hamīd Adam are Pakistanis, and easily a

dozen other poets and novelists of eminence in the Urdu literature of Pakistan can be named. It is interesting to note, however, that most of the best writers of Urdu in Pakistan, in both prose and verse, are not dominated by an exclusive Islamic spirit, and they have generally a very broad human outlook, not even disdaining to use Hindu or pure Indian ideas and figures in poetry.

Urdu has done one great service to Hindi. It has emancipated the Khari-Boli from the mediaeval Hindi system of metre (a moric metre based on Prakrit, which is getting to be obsolete : Urdu metre is more in accordance with the actual pronunciation and enunciation of the spoken language, and Hindi is already affected by this naturalism in metre). Urdu also kept before the eyes of Hindi its seven centuries of Persian cultural contact. Urdu has an atmosphere of urbanity which has penetrated into Hindi as well. The Persian element in Hindi certainly adds to its expressiveness, the presence of Urdu has made Hindi feel quite at home towards it. A good deal of this Persian element has been helped to become naturalized, and that has been no small gain for a modern language which must extend its vocabulary. It must however be mentioned at the same time that Urdu, particularly of writers born and brought up within the orbit of Delhi (the *Pachānhā* area), has, in spite of Persian influences, preserved a good deal of the expressive native idioms of Hindustani, and, now, of some of the other North Indian ('Hindi') speeches. In fact, in the matter of grammar, idiom and diction, usage in Urdu at times serves as a guide or model for present-day literary Hindi.

BENGALI LITERATURE

Bengali as a New Indo-Aryan language (like others of the same family) came into being round about 1000 A. D., and almost from the time of its differentiation from the Apabhraṃśa or Late Middle Indo-Aryan from Magadha or Bihar, which is the immediate source not only of Bengali but also of Assamese and Oriya and the Bihari speeches (Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri), literature in the shape of songs began to be composed and recorded in it. The history of Bengali literature can conveniently be divided into a number of periods and sub-periods, and these have been proposed :

- (i) Old Bengali Literature : 950-1200 A. D.
- (ii) Middle Bengali : 1200-1800.
 - (a) Transitional Middle Bengali : 1200-1350.
 - (b) Early Middle Bengali : 1350-1600.
 - (c) Late Middle Bengali : 1600-1800.
- (iii) New or Modern Bengali : after 1800.

Bengali has quite a copious literature, both mediaeval and modern, and it is through its modern literature that the language is better known. Among its modern writers, at least four have acquired pan-Indian significance : Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Māikel Madhusūdan Datta, Rabindranāth Tagore, and Śarat Chandra Chatterji, to mention the most famous names ; and of them, Rabindranāth Tagore has become a world-figure in literature and thought. Other writers like Dwijēndralāl Rāy (dramatist), Rāj-śekhara Basu (humourist) and Tārā Śankar Banerji (novelist) and a few other living novelists, have also exerted a great influence on the literatures in the other languages of India.

The general observations made about Modern Indo-Aryan literature as a whole (pp. 95 ff.) hold good for Bengali as well. Books in verse are in plenty in Middle Bengali, but there is a lack of variety in subject-matter, and a general monotony is a besetting disqualification. Nevertheless, the earlier literature of Bengali is valuable as a criticism and expression of Bengali life, and has given a number of authors like Caṇḍī-dāsa, Kṛttivāsa, Mālādhara Vasu, Vipradāsa Piplāi, Lōcana-dāsa, Jñāna-dāsa, Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja, Rūparāma Cakravartī,

Kāśīrāma Dāsa and Bhārata Candra Rāya Guṇākara, who are among the representative poets of pre-British India.

(I) Old Bengali Literature : 950-1200 A. D.

Rabindranath Tagore once observed that our popular literature in the early Indian spoken vernaculars was like an earthen lamp—it shed its soft, dim light for a period, and then was thrown away into oblivion ; while Sanskrit literature, with its lyrics and its great *kāvya*s, was like a lamp of gold which has been preserved with care and has been illumining the world for all these centuries. The scholars of ancient India would approve this sentiment, and for them, Sanskrit was the deathless speech—*Amara-bhārati*—which would preserve for posterity whatever was written in it, while the spoken language was changing and ephemeral. But the masses must have both self-expression and instruction in a language close to their heart. In old Bengal, there were two such languages : the local language, Old Bengali, and a pan-Indian popular literary speech which was generally understood everywhere in North or Aryan India—Nāgara or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa, a language belonging really to Western U. P., Eastern Panjab and Rajasthan. A little literature, meant primarily for the unlearned, was composed in both of these in pre-Muslim Bengal. The people had their songs of love and life, their poems of devotion and folk-wisdom, in their mother tongue ; and wandering teachers belonging to the local cults, to Buddhism, and sometimes Brahmanism, composed verses for the instruction and edification of the people in both Old Bengali and Nāgara Apabhraṁśa as used in Bengal and Eastern India. There is plenty of evidence that teachers belonging to the *Nātha-pantha* or *Yōgī* sect, to Puranic Brahmanism as the precursor of the later *Bhakti* schools, and to late Mahāyāna Buddhism,—all composed verses in these two forms of speech in Bengal ; and besides, there were the popular songs. It was half a century ago that in 1916 Haraprasād Śāstrī published specimens of a popular Buddhist literature of Old Bengal, in both Old Bengali and Apabhraṁśa, which he was able to glean from MSS. written by the Buddhist Newārs of Nepal and preserved in the Darbar Library of Kathmando. Before this, we had no knowledge of these beginnings of our literature ; and further investigation and discovery are still proceeding. Fragments of a popular poetry in Old Bengali have been found quoted in an Apabhraṁśa work like the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*, and in certain

Sanskrit works ; and Old Bengali *Nātha-panthi* poems ascribed to Gōrakha-nātha have been discovered, with their language to some extent altered, in distant Rajasthan.

The most valuable relics of Old Bengali are the 47 *Caryāpadas*, mystic songs (of about 8 lines each, sometimes more) relating to the secret doctrine of a religious cult which was affiliated to both late Mahāyāna Buddhism and the *Nātha-pantha*—the *Sahaja-yāna* or *Sahaja-pantha*, which, in its philosophy and its ritual of worship, might be, for aught we know, pre-Aryan, i. e. both pre-Buddhistic and pre-Brahmanical, although it outwardly conformed to the official religions. The outward meanings of these poems are clear, and with the help of a Sanskrit commentary (which is found in the MS. collection of these 47 poems as discovered and edited by Haraprasād Śāstrī) and analogous Sanskrit philosophical texts, the esoteric meaning also can be understood. We find the names of the authors of these poems also. Lui-pā was perhaps the oldest of them (middle of the 10th century) ; the others were also in the *Nātha-pantha* tradition. There is not much poetry in these mystic poems, yet occasionally there shines a passage or verse here and there which evoke quite a little picture from life. After the epoch-making discovery of the 47 *Caryā* poems by Haraprasād Śāstrī, a few similar poems have been found from Nepal by the late Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and by Rāhula Sankṛtyāyana, and they have been studied by a number of scholars, like Dr. Bagchi himself, Dr. Muhammad Shahīdullāh, the late Manindra Mohan Bose, Dr. Sukumar Sen, Dr. Sasibhūshan Dās Gupta, Rāhula Sankṛtyāyana and others. Other fragments of Old Bengali outside of these 47 *Caryā* poems, and similar fragmentary literature, have also been discovered, as noted above. All of these were intended to be sung with instrumental accompaniment. These are sometimes directly poetical, as for example in the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala* fragments.

These specimens of Old Bengali show a language more ancient than anything we know in Eastern India, and the proximity of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Maithili to each other has made some scholars of Assamese, Oriya and Maithili to claim that the *Caryāpadas* (and other similar texts) are Old Assamese, Old Oriya, and Old Maithili ; and even some 'Hindi' enthusiasts, without a proper understanding of the linguistic background, have declared the language to be 'Old Hindi'. The only test here is the test of grammar and of vocabulary ; and on these tests, there cannot be

any question that we have genuine specimens of Old Bengali here. Old Assamese and Old Oriya, particularly the former, were certainly very like the language of the *Caryās*—and this is all that can be admitted. The *Caryās* might from that point of view be taken to present a norm for these sister languages of Bengali also in their oldest period as characterized languages.

By 1200 A. D., there appears to have been a noteworthy amount of literary output in Old Bengali, for a Bengal poet of near about that date writes with pride in a Sanskrit distich in the *Āryā* metre : “Those who take their dip in the Ganges and in the Bengali language (*Vaṅgāla-Vāṇī*) are both purified : the Ganges is full of water, the Bengali speech essays poetry in different styles ; the one moves in a tortuous course, the other is beautiful in her sentiments ; and poets have revelled in both”. But unfortunately, some few fragments only of what poets achieved in Old Bengali (and in Western Apabhraṁśa as used in Bengal) now survive : notably, as said before, in the 47 *Caryāpadas*, and a little literature of songs and distiches of the same type.

Jaya-dēva, the author of the *Gīta-gōvinda*, flourished during the reign of the last independent Hindu King of Bengal, Lakshmaṇa-Sēna (c. 1180), who was a great patron of poets, and was himself a poet in Sanskrit. Jaya-dēva's other works were not known, but fragments of these have been found in a Sanskrit anthology, the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* compiled in Bengal about 1205 A. D., and elsewhere, which show that he was quite a versatile poet. His *Gīta-gōvinda* is a narrative poem (*maṅgala*) on the loves of Krishna and Rādhā, divided into 9 cantos, and there are 24 lyrics (*padas*) in it, which are in quite a different style from the language of the narrative parts of the book. These *padas* are in Sanskrit rimed verse, and rimed verse is quite uncommon in Sanskrit, being characteristic of Apabhraṁśa and New Indo-Aryan. It has been supposed, and with considerable reason, that these 24 lyrics were originally composed in either Old Bengali or Apabhraṁśa, and then their language was slightly modified to make good Sanskrit of it, and in this way the poems have been incorporated in the Sanskrit work. If that were so, Jaya-dēva will have to be recognized as a poet of early Bengal, who also, possibly, cultivated Old Bengali. In any case, the influence of Jaya-dēva on the later Bengali literature was tremendous : as the writer of a work which combined in it both the narrative (*maṅgala*) and the lyric (*pada*), the two main types of

Middle Bengali literature, and as an inspirer of many a later Bengali (and other Indian) poet, he may be said to stand at the head of Bengali Literature. He is indeed, for the whole of Aryan India, judging from his all-India influence, "the Last of the Ancients, and the First of the Moderns."

The cultivated man or woman in Bengal in Old Bengali times (as in other parts of India) wrote poetry in Sanskrit. The names of over 250 poets of Bengal, with quotations from their Sanskrit compositions on various subjects, are found in the Sanskrit anthology, the *Sadukti-karṇamṛtā* of Śrīdhara-dāsa. These Sanskrit verses form an important relic of the achievements of speakers of Old Bengali in the domain of poetry.

(2) Middle Bengali : 1200-1800

There is no evidence of a narrative poem on a long scale in Old Bengali, such as we have, e. g. in Nāgara Apabhraṃśa. Possibly most narrative poems were in the Apabhraṃśa, even in Bengal; in any case, when Vidyāpati, the great lyric poet of Mithila (North Bihar) composed a historical poem, c. 1410, he did not use his own mother-tongue Maithili, but Apabhraṃśa, although his Apabhraṃśa is at places mixed with Maithili; and he calls it both *dēśila vaana* (= *dēśila-vacana*), i. e. 'country speech', and *Avahaṭṭha* (= *Apabhraṣṭa*) or 'debased speech'. From the second half of the 15th century, and particularly in the 16th, we have a series of long narrative poems on romantico-religious themes relating to Bengal only, on what may be called "the matter of Bengal" (see *ante*, pp. 96 ff.)—e. g. on the story of the ideal wife Bihulā and her husband Lakṣmīndhara (with the strife between the Snake Goddess Manasā and Lakṣmīndhara's father the merchant-prince Candra-dhara on the background), on that of the hero Lāu-sēna and Kānaḍā, on the hunter Kālakēu and his wife Phullarā, and on the sea-faring merchant Dhanapati, his two wives Lahanā and Khullanā, and his son Śrīmanta. We have names of the supposedly first writers on the stories of Bihulā and Lāu-sēna, later treated in the *Manasā-Maṅgala* and *Dharma-Maṅgala* poems, as Kāṇā Hari-datta and Mayūra-bhaṭṭa respectively; they may have flourished in the period 1200-1400, but nothing is known about them.

Bengal, at any rate West Bengal, was conquered by the Turks in 1203; and the conquest of Bengal by these ruthless foreigners was like a terrible hurricane which swept over the country, when

a peace-loving people were subjected to all imaginable terrors and torments—wholesale massacres, pillages, abduction and enslavement of men and women, destruction of temples, palaces, images and libraries, and forcible conversion. The Muslim Turks, like the Spanish Catholic *conquistadores* in Mexico and Peru and elsewhere in America, sought to destroy the culture and religion of the land as the handiwork of Satan. The period of Turki conquest, and the generations of uncertainty under the new régime, were hardly propitious for literary cultivation. The approach of the Sufi preachers, with their liberal outlook and their sympathy for and understanding of other points of view, was yet to come.

(a) Transitional Middle Bengali : 1200-1350

This period is not represented by any authentic specimens of literature. As suggested above, the first drafts, so to say, of the great Middle Bengali poems describing the deathless love of Bihulā for her husband Lakhindhara (Lakshmīndhara) and the adventures of Lāusēna were made by unknown poets from earlier ballads about them, which doubtless were current and used to be sung by the people. During this period, a Muslim population speaking Bengali came into existence. Forced converts, and willing converts (either through conviction or through a desire to obtain privileges by embracing the new faith), as well as people in the humbler walks of life who felt attracted to the preachings of the Sufi teachers who settled in the villages and towns and were in full contact with the masses neglected or despised by the Brahmans, formed the nucleus of the Bengali Muslim during this period. This Muslim Bengali population went on increasing, thanks to the suicidal ignorance and apathy of the Hindu upper classes, in managing their own society most inefficiently. These Hindu upper classes allowed caste exclusiveness to have full play ; they put a tacit ban on the remarriage of widows, even in the lower ranks of Hindu society where it was the rule (particularly in recent centuries), and made conversion or reconversion into Hinduism impossible ; and in all these and other ways, they helped the growth of the Muslim community in Bengal at the expense of the Hindus. The Turki conquerors formed a moving camp of men. Excepting, perhaps, in the case of the leaders, they did not bring their women with them, and naturally they took Indian women as

wives everywhere. So that in a generation, the Turkish strain was no longer pure, except where it was freshly and continually reinforced from Afghanistan and Central Asia. The half-castes of Northern India became quadroons, and octroons in the third generation. But the Turkish *conquistador* spirit was fully inherited by this new element in India, which enjoyed special rights and privileges, and merged into and strengthened the converted Muslims of native Indian origin. These latter were largely imperfectly assimilated to Islam, and in their mental and spiritual make-up (though not in matters where political power and control were concerned) they remained mainly Hindu : particularly in their way of life. No wonder that the scions of the Turki conquerors, who in a couple of generations lost their Turki speech, and studied Persian only as the language of culture which their fathers and grand-fathers had acquired in Afghanistan, felt, in language and in literary tastes, to be thoroughly Indian, and Bengali in Bengal. Arabic was studied by their religious men as the sacred language of Islam, and Arabic was at first used in Muslim inscriptions in Bengal recording the erection of mosques, schools and other buildings to disseminate Muslim culture. Later on, Arabic was very largely or entirely replaced by Persian. We have thus, as soon as things got settled down at the expiry of a century and a half after the Turki conquest, the Muslim Sultāns who, in spite of their Persian histories and their Arabic inscriptions, were feeling very much like Bengalis ; and from the fourth quarter of the 15th century, they emerge as patrons of a Hindu literature in Bengali, and of Hindu learning. A Muslim Bengali literature was yet to be created. It is also to be noted that prior to the conquest of Bengal by Akbar in 1572, there was not much of direct rule of Bengal by the Sultāns of Turki origin. The country was largely administered in the old way by Hindu feudatories, so that Muslim ideas could not effectively penetrate into the life of the people, and the old spirit continued.

(b) Early Middle Bengali : 1350-1600

With the return of peaceful conditions, when Brahmans could study Sanskrit, a sort of first or early Renaissance of Sanskrit studies and Brahmanical lore, which was a precursor of the bigger Renaissance under the influence of the *Bhakti* cult in the 15th-16th centuries, appears to have started in Bengal

in the 14th-15th centuries. Probably the first great poet of Middle Bengali, of whom we have some record, and whose name and work (although in a very much modified form) are still well-known was Kṛttivāsa Ojhā Mukhaṭī (born probably c. 1399). He was possibly the first, and certainly the most popular, poet to adapt the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* into Bengali (c. 1418). In Kṛttivāsa's work, in place of the human and heroic Rāma of Vālmīki's original Sanskrit epic, we have a gentle and compassionate incarnation of the Divinity to whom the loving faith of a simple people would easily go. The poem of Kṛttivāsa is mainly narrative—it is not wholly suffused with the spirit of *Bhakti* such as we have as a common thing in the next century, after the advent of the great saint Caitanya. The Krishna legend was similarly taken up by Mālādhara Vasu Guṇarāja Khān later, in the same century, about 1475 A. D., in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya*, which is based on the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. Here, too, we do not as yet have the spirit of post-Caitanya *Bhakti* or abandon of faith in Krishna as the Incarnate God.

The story of Bihulā, who, widowed on the night of her wedding through her husband Lakhindhar dying by snake-bite (through the machinations of Manasā the Snake-Goddess who was inimical to Bihulā's father-in-law the merchant Candra-dhara), floated away down the river in a raft with her husband's body, and after a series of adventures finally managed to propitiate the Gods including Manasā and brought back her husband to life, and effected a reconciliation between Manasā and Candra-dhara, is one of the greatest tales of wifely devotion and womanly courage through love which the Indian imagination has produced. This story probably goes back to pre-Muslim times, but we have the first great poems on the theme in the 15th century. One, said to be composed by Vijaya Gupta of Goilā-Phullaśrī in Barisal district (date not known : the *Padmā-purāṇa* or *Manasā-maṅgala*, Padmā being a name of Manasā), and the other by Vipradāsa Pipalāi of Baduḍiyā-Vaṭagrāma near Calcutta, c. 1492 (poem with the same name). The story passed on to Bihar and Eastern U. P., and we have at least one Bhojpuri version of it in later times.

A great name in Early Middle Bengali literature is that of Caṇḍī-dāsa, who is considered by many to be the greatest lyric poet of Bengal prior to Rabindranāth Tagore. Over 1200 poems are current in the name of Caṇḍī-dāsa. These are of diverse

quality, and from both language and style as well as subject-matter, they cannot be by one person. As a matter of fact, the time when Caṇḍī-dāsa flourished is not known either. All that we know is that Caitanya used to find pleasure in some poems by Caṇḍī-dāsa (which centre all of them round the loves of Rādhā and Krishna). He was thus a predecessor (or, may be an elder contemporary) of Caitanya; in that case, his date may be c. 1450 A. D. Some would take him half-a-century earlier. The MS. tradition for the poems of Caṇḍī-dāsa is late and faulty, and not at all old. In 1916, a remarkable book was discovered, which was exceedingly well-edited by Vasanta-ranjan Rāy Vidvad-vallabha, and it has also been carefully studied by a number of scholars—the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*, written by a poet who names himself at the end of each section, and from this we can know that his full name was 'Ananta Baḍu Caṇḍī-dāsa'. The script is old, and the language older than anything so far discovered in Bengali, barring the *Caryā-padas* (see pp. 158-59). It was believed at first that the unique MS. of the work belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century. Now it is believed that it can well be of the early 16th century. The story of Rādhā and Krishna's love narrated here is certainly pre-Caitanya in spirit and sentiment. There are in it translations of two songs from Jaya-dēva's *Gīta-Gōvinda*, and also passages which show imitation of that work.

The best solution of the Caṇḍī-dāsa problem is this. There were more poets in early Bengali than one named Caṇḍī-dāsa: very probably there were three. Caṇḍī-dāsa No. 1, known as Ananta Baḍu Caṇḍī-dāsa, the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*, flourished before Caitanya, may be about 1400: he was responsible for a bare two dozen only of the current 1200 poems ascribed to 'Caṇḍī-dāsa', in addition to the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-Kīrttana* itself. He was a primitive, and a pre-Bhakti poet in his treatment of the theme. Caṇḍī-dāsa No. 2 was Dvija Caṇḍī-dāsa: he probably lived shortly after Caitanya, and may be he was a younger contemporary. He composed those few poems on which a good deal of 'Caṇḍī-dāsa's' reputation or popularity as a poet now rests—poems in which Caitanya's longing for his God (which the poet possibly witnessed) appears to have coloured deeply the portrayal of Rādhā's all-absorbing love for Krishna. Caṇḍī-dāsa No. 3 was known as Dīna Caṇḍī-dāsa, who was rather a pedestrian poet and who was the author of more than three-

fourths of the current *corpus* of 'Caṇḍī-dāsa' poems. This *Dīna Caṇḍī-dāsa* lived after 1600 A. D. (See edition of *Caṇḍī-dāsa* by Harekrishna Mukherji and Suniti Kumar Chatterji, VSPd., 1934.)

The uncritical public take all the 1200 and odd poems of 'Caṇḍī-dāsa' in a lump, and sentimentalize over them. But *Baḍu Caṇḍī-dāsa* (No. 1) is certainly a great poet, and *Dvija Caṇḍī-dāsa* (No. 2) is perhaps equally great. It is these two poets, whose personalities were merged into one (and a third personality later lost its identity in them), in an uncritical age of faith, who are responsible for the greatness of a *composite Caṇḍī-dāsa* as the greatest lyric poet of early Bengal. This has been something unique in the domain of literature—rather uncommon in any other country, but common enough in Indian literature.

The 15th century was a great century for Bengal in its religion, its general culture and its literature. The country was ruled by Sultāns of Turki and Pathan (Afghan) origin, but they had become sufficiently Bengalized to support Hindu Bengali literature and to employ Hindus in responsible posts. The capital city was Gaur in Maldah district. A Bengali Hindu chieftain (posibly of Boḍo origin) had in 1415-1417 made himself the independent ruler of Bengal, and he sought to revive the Hindu régime by issuing coins in Sanskrit in the Bengali character in his name—*Danuja-mardana-Dēva*, as he calls himself in his coins (his personal name was probably *Kaṁśa*). After a brief reign, he was succeeded by *Mahēndra-dēva*, who was probably his son; and then another son of his, *Yadu*, became a convert to Islam and took the name of *Jalāluddīn*. In this way, the nobility of Bengal was being requisitioned to strengthen the Muslim aristocracy. One of the great Sultāns of Bengal, almost a national ruler for the province, was *Sultān Husain Shāh* (1493-1519). *Sultān Husain Shāh* had as his Private Secretary (*dabīr-xās*) and as his intimate minister who acted on ceremonial occasions as his proxy (*sāghir-malik*, 'the little king') two Bengali Brahmans, the brothers *Rūpa* and *Sanātana*, who were well-learned in Persian and in Sanskrit and who later became devoted followers of *Caitanya*, and settled in *Vṛndāvana* to organize from there the *Vaishnava Church* in Bengal. *Husain Shāh* was also an active patron of Bengali literature; and *Parāgai Khān* and *Chuḍi Khān*, Governors of *Chittagong* under *Husain Shāh* and his son *Sultān Nāsiruddīn Nasrat Shāh*, had the *Mahābhārata* rendered into Bengali verse, first by a poet called *Kavindra*, whose very brief version of the story of the *Mahābhārata*

was known as the *Pāṇḍava-vijaya* or the *Vijaya-Pāṇḍava-kathā*, and secondly by Śrīkara Nandī. From early 15th century, this tradition of telling the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* stories, and the stories relating to Krishna, in Bengali, continued down to the 19th century.

The Sanskrit scholars in Bengal were very active during this century, and an all-round cultural Renaissance started from the end of the 15th century, when Caitanya came to preach the *Bhakti* cult through the figures of Krishna and Rādhā ; the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were enthusiastically studied ; renowned jurists like Smārta Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, logicians like Raghu-nātha Śrīrōmaṇi, poets like Caturbhuja Miśra (the author of the *Hari-carita*, a remarkably original *Kāvya* in Sanskrit on the story of Krishna), strengthened the traditions of Sanskrit scholarship in Bengal. A social organizer like Devī-vara Ghāṭaka established a set of rules regarding social usage in matters of marriage among the Brahmans, which for the time being helped to keep the society intact against the onslaughts of Islam. Colleges of Sanskrit learning sprang up everywhere : particularly at Navadvīpa in Nadiya district, and in many a Brahman village along the Bhāgīrathī or the Hughli river, at Vishnupur in Bankura district, in Vikrampur in Dacca district, in Rājshāhi and Maldah in North Bengal, in Maimansingh, in Chittagong, in places in Faridpur (like Kōṭālipāṭā), and in Barisal, in fact, everywhere where there were Brahmans and Hindus. Intimate contacts with Mithila and Orissa, and with Gaya, Banaras and Vṛndāvana were established.

During the fourth quarter of the 15th century, Caitanya was born : he flourished from 1486-1533. He rode at the crest of the wave, and gave a new turn to Hinduism in Bengal through a revived Vaishnavism with Krishna and Rādhā as symbols of the Divinity and its innate Power of Bliss (*Hlādinī Śakti*). The personality of Caitanya is looked upon by many Bengalis as the greatest fact of Bengal's cultural and spiritual life during mediaeval times. Certainly, through his advent there came an unprecedented impetus to the intellect and spirit of Bengal. His influence on his contemporaries and successors, from king to beggar, from Brahman to outcast, and to Muslim, was something unsurpassed. During his life-time, his followers took him as a perfect incarnation of the Deity, particularly in Its aspect of Rādhā as Its Power of Bliss—the Love and Beauty and Joy of the Godhead. Caitanya was a great scholar, but he was also a God-intoxicated saint

and mystic (*divyōnmāda*). He left only eight Sanskrit verses and an eight-stanza hymn to Jagannātha or Vishnu, but what he is supposed to have taught has been elaborated into the later Gaudīya or Bengal Vaishnava philosophy of the 16th and 17th-18th centuries. Caitanya lived his early life in Bengal, went on pilgrimage to the extreme South of India from where he brought some Sanskrit works, and returned to North India by way of Western India (the Maratha country), and spent some time in Vṛndāvana and in Banaras ; and he passed his last years at Puri in Orissa. He was thus quite an all-India figure.

With Caitanya's advent and after his death, a number of biographies, introducing a new genre, were written in Bengali. We have thus the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa (c. 1573); the *Caitanya-maṅgala* of Lōcana-dāsa (1523-1580); the *Caitanya-maṅgala* of Jayānanda (c. 1550 : 1600 ? not regarded as authentic or approved by the Vaishnavas, but it gives some interesting details, and narrates how Caitanya died as the result of an accident to his feet while dancing in ecstasy); and the most important, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Krisna-dāsa Kavirāja (c. 1581), unique in its conscientious statement of facts and its exposition of Caitanya's philosophy, which make it one of the greatest books of Bengali. The very interesting *Kaḍacā* or 'Notes' describing Caitanya's travels in South India and the Deccan, by Gōvinda-dāsa Karmakāra, his personal servant, is thought by some scholars to be late and spurious. Biographies of a number of Vaishnava teachers and saints enriched Bengali literature during the 16th-17th centuries, and it will be too long to enumerate and describe them. These works are pietistic in tone, after the manner of hagiologies, and they freely bring in the supernatural. But nevertheless, they have their great historical value, and importance for sociological study.

Equally popular in the 16th-17th centuries were the *padas*, lyrics or songs treating of the divine love of Rādhā and Krishna, or of Caitanya's personality, with occasional prayers or litanies of great beauty and power. In the lyric literature of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, we find a great influence of the Maithil poet Vidyāpati (c.1350-1450), an influence which went to the extent of creating a new and an artificial literary language, a mixture of Bengali and of Maithili with some Western Hindi and Apabhraṁśa forms, which is known as *Braja-buli* and in which a considerable portion of Bengali Vaishnava lyrics were written.

The origin of *Braja-buli* happened in this way. Mithila of North Bihar had somehow escaped the Turki cataclysm that overwhelmed South Bihar and Bengal in the 12th-13th centuries. It remained a Hindu state without any disturbance of its old life for some centuries. From after the conquest of Bengal by the Turks, students of Sanskrit from Bengal used to go to Mithila to finish their education under renowned scholars in a Hindu State. Religious law (*Smṛti*) and philosophy (particularly logic, *Nyāya*) were favourite subjects for study. The Sanskrit scholars of Mithila did not disdain their mother-tongue as a vulgar speech, and we have works in Maithili from at least c.1325 (e. g. the *Varṇa-ratnākara* of Jyōtīśvara Thākura, a work of set descriptions of various subjects and situations, to supply ready-made *cliché* passages to story-tellers and *Purāṇa*-reciters in the common tongue). Vidyāpati was a great Sanskrit scholar, with poetical and prose works in Sanskrit to his credit. He also composed beautiful lyrics of love in his mother-tongue, with Krishna and Rādhā as the ideal types of lovers : also he had lyrics on Śiva and Umā, and on the River Gaṅgā. These love-lyrics exerted their fascination on the young Bengal scholars, and they brought them to Bengal. They were also taken to Assam and Orissa. The style, which was like the continuation of the earlier Apabhraṃśa style of language in Bengal, was liked so much, that in addition to the poems by Vidyāpati on the Rādhā-Krishna theme which were preserved in Bengal (with unavoidable change in language—Bengali and Maithili are sister-speeches), imitation of Vidyāpati's Maithili lyrics started, and a modified Maithili became established as a second literary language, which presented to Bengali, Assamese and Oriya certain earlier verse-cadences based on quantity of vowels which were no longer natural to these languages. *Braja-buli* (i. e. the dialect describing specially the loves of Rādhā and Krishna in Vraja or Vṛndāvana) verse began to be composed in Bengal from the end of the 15th century : the 16th and 17th centuries were the great centuries for it ; and the tradition has continued down to our day in the 19th century. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the great novelist, essayed a poem in it, and Rabindranāth Tagore himself composed an entire volume of exquisite lyrics in this dialect—the *Bhānu-siṃha Thākurer Padāvali*—which for a period was regarded as genuinely old by even scholars.

At the head of the Vaishnava lyric tradition stands Jaya-dēva with his 24 *padas* in the *Gīta-Gōvinda*, as noted before. A few

lyrics in the same style on Vishnu and Krishna are found in the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*. Then we have Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa (? 1450), and the immediate followers of Caitanya. Among them were—Rāmānanda, the governor of a province in the Orissa empire, who was great disciple of Caitanya, and he composed also in Sanskrit ; Rūpa and Sanātana, whose Vaishnava poems in Sanskrit had a great influence with Bengali lyrists, and they frequently paraphrased his Sanskrit verses ; and probably also *Dvi*ja Caṇḍīdāsa, who established fully this line of verse compositions. Among the 16th century celebrities in this type of poetry were Gōvinda-dāsa Kavirāja (? 1512), who wrote mostly in Braja-buli, some incomparably beautiful lyrics, with graceful imagination and mellifluous diction ; Jñāna-dāsa (c. 1530), who wrote in pure Bengali ; and others, who pass beyond the 16th century into the 17th also, like Kavi-rañjana Vidyāpati of Śrīkhaṇḍa in Burdwan, whose poems in Braja-buli won him the sobriquet of *Chōṭa Vidyāpati* 'or the Lesser Vidyāpati', and whose compositions, in the hands of both uncritical anthologists and equally uncritical editors at the present day, have become hopelessly tangled in Bengal with the original poems of Vidyāpati of Mithila ; Rāya-Śekhara ; Balarāma-dāsa ; and Narōttama-dāsa, well-known for a number of songs of prayer and praise unique in early Bengali literature for their sincerity and faith.

A direct influence of the personality of Caitanya was a new adaptation of the Krishna story as in *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* by Raghu-nātha Bhāgavatācārya, early in the 16th century.

The story of Bihulā and Lakshmīndhara was treated in two great poems in the end of the 15th century (see p. 163). In the 16th, we have two poets taking up the story of the hunter Kālakētu and his wife Phullarā, and of the merchant Dhanapati and his son Śrīmanta, stories which were connected with the glorification of the Goddess Caṇḍī or Durgā, the spouse of Śiva, the Great Mother Goddess. Moreover, these stories appear to be special to Bengal. Mādhavācārya, the earlier writer (c. 1550), is preserved only in a few fragments ; his entire composition has not been recovered. But we have the entire work of Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Mukundaraṃa Cakravartī (c. 1580), whose *Caṇḍī-kāvya* (or *Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Caṇḍī*) is still widely popular. It is one of the most characteristic books of early Bengal, and it gives a vivid picture of Bengali life in the 16th century. Rich in humour, its characterization is truthful and convincing, and the joys and sorrows of the people are pictured

with full knowledge and keen insight. If Mukunda-rāma had lived in the present age, he would have been a great novelist. He is a worthy precursor, though in verse, of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Śarat Chandra Chatterji of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

(c) Late Middle Bengali : 1600-1800

The line of the Vaishnava lyric poets and the biographers continued during the 17th century. Among the biographers, a few names may be mentioned. Īśāna Nāgara, c. 1564, author of the *Advaita-prakāśa*, and Nityānanda, author of the *Prēma-vilāsa*, c. 1600, belong to the previous century. In the 17th, Yādu-nandana Dāsa (1607 : author of the *Karṇānanda*) ; Rāja-vallabha (early 17th century : wrote the *Murali-vilāsa*) ; Gōpī-jana-vallabha Dāsa (c. 1652 : author of the *Rasika-maṅgala*) ; Mānōhara-dāsa (c. 1697 : wrote the *Anurāga-valli*), and Narahari Ghanaśyāma Cakravartī (early 18th century : author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narōttama-vilāsa*).

The lyrists number over 200, and their work has been treated in a number of valuable books and monographs in Bengali. From the middle of the 17th century, Vaishnava scholars and poets compiled some important collections or anthologies of these lyrics, and it is largely through these that the mass of Vaishnava lyrics has been preserved. We need mention only the largest of these. A veritable *Rg-veda* or *Ādi-grantha* of Bengali Vaishnava lyrics, the *Pada-kalpa-taru* of Vaishnava-dāsa (c. 1770), consisting of 3101 lyrics by some 170 poets. After composition, naturally there came study and classification of Vaishnava lyrics in these compilations, and even a Sanskrit commentary is known, made at least by one anthologist, viz. Rādhā-mōhana Ṭhākura (1721).

In the 17th century, the interest in the old romantico-religious stories of Bengal seems to have revived. We have Rūpa-rāma Cakravartī (c. 1650) composing his *Dharma-maṅgala* on the adventures of Lāu-sēna, the devotee of Dharma-Ṭhākura, who appears to be a composite deity, partly pre-Aryan, partly Aryan—a deity of creation, of the sun, of rice-culture and of fertility. Mayūra Bhaṭṭa is described as the earliest poet on this theme (see *ante*, p. 160), and he might belong to the Transitional Middle Bengali stage : a work alleged to be his has been recently published but it is spurious and modern. The Lāu-sēna story was very popular, and its theme has been revived in a modern drama, the *Raṅjāvati*, by Kshirod Chandra Vidyāvinod (see later, 19th century) ;

and Rūpa-rāma was followed by two other poets, who wrote new works on the same *Dharma-maṅgala* theme, viz. Mānik Gānguli and Ghanarāma Cakravartī, both of the early 18th century.

Similarly, another popular theme, originally Buddhistic, on which the 17th and 18th century poets wrote, was that of Rājā Gōpī-candra or Gōvinda-candra. When Gōpī-candra, the son of Rājā Mānika-candra, came to the throne, his mother Queen Mayanāmatī found out by her Yogic powers that unless her son gave up his kingdom and his wives and took to the mendicant's life, he would die an early death. Against his will, and almost forced by his mother, the young king left his favourite wives Adunā and Padunā and his kingdom, wandering about until the danger was past. This story spread all over North India, but it seems to be of Bengal origin. On this theme we have Bhavānī-dāsa's *Mayanāmatīr-Gān* (17th century), and Durlabha Mallika's *Gōvinda-candra Gīta* (18th century), besides some North Bengal folk versions collected by Sir George A. Grierson (1878) and by others.

The legend of Bihulā, already treated in long poems, was taken up by other poets in the 18th century : Vaṁśī-dāsa in Maimansingh in East Bengal, and Ketakā-dāsa and Kshēmānanda in West Bengal : the *Manasār Bhāsan* by the last two poets, as a joint composition, is immensely popular with the people.

The 17th century also saw the growth of secular narrative poetry in the shape of ballads. The finest and the most romantic of these come from East Bengal, particularly from the Maimansingh District. They have a historical basis, and are highly poetical. A good collection with English translations has been published through the University of Calcutta by Dinesh Chandra Sen. A fine war-ballad is the *Caudhurīr Laṛāi* from Noakhali (18th century), which has also been published by Dinesh Chandra Sen.

The 17th century witnessed the establishment of another literary type in Bengal—the *matter of Persia and Arabia* (p. 96). By 1600, there were already in Bengal four centuries of Islamic influence with that of the cultures of Persia and Arabia on the mind of a growing population of Bengali Muslims ; and particularly, in far-away Chittagong and Arracan, among communities of Bengali Muslims settled in the midst of the Burmese-speaking Arracanese, writers began to render into Bengali not only tales of Arab and Persian romance but also hand-books on Islamic religion and practice. The earliest Muslim poet of the Chittagong-Arracan group was Daulat Kāzī. These poets

studied not only the Bengali literature that was available to them, but also Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and in addition a language called by them *Gōhārī* or *Gōārī*, which evidently was Awadhi (Kosali or Eastern Hindi). The name *Gōhārī* or *Gōārī* may be a Bengali corruption of *Gahora*, a dialect of the Tirahani form of Kosali or Awadhi which is still current in Banda district in U. P. to the south of the Jamna river, as it has been noted by G. A. Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey*, and *Gahora* as a speech-name possibly had a wider application and importance in the 16th-17th centuries. Or it may be it is from *Ganwārī* or *Gawārī*, i.e. 'rustic speech', which could easily be given to a 'Hindi' or 'Hindwi' dialect cultivated by Muslim Sufis, with whom Persian alone was the standard speech—*Khaṛī-Bōlī* or Urdu not yet having come to be established as a speech of any importance, at least in Eastern India. Muslim Sufi preachers from the Eastern Hindi area appear to have come to distant East Bengal tracts for missionary work, in the wake of North Indian Muslim adventurers who would go to distant East Bengal down the Ganges and the Padma rivers. In Sylhet, they had brought with them the *Nāgarī* alphabet from Eastern U. P., which was adopted by some of their local Bengali Muslim disciples ; and until very recently, these Musalmans of Sylhet would write Bengali, among themselves, in this *Sileṭ Nāgarī* script (in addition to Bengali), and books used to be printed in it. So the script must have come with the language itself, in which a popular literature of romance with Sufi implications had grown up. Books from Awadhi were also rendered by them into Bengali. Daulat Kāzī wrote his romance of *Lōr-Candā* or *Satī Maynā* from Awadhi sources, and this was a popular Rajput romance from North India : this theme was already treated in Awadhi by the end of the 14th century (see ante, page 125). Koreshi (Qurayshī) Māgan Ṭhākur (second half of the 17th century) composed his huge romance of *Candrāvatī* (also based on Awadhi sources). *Mautul Husain* (dealing with the tragedy of Karbala, when one of the grandsons of the Prophet Muhammad was killed) and *Keyāmat-nāmā* (on the Day of the Last Judgment), are popular works by Mohammad Khān (c. 1646) ; Abdul Nabī (1684) wrote his great work the *Āmīr Hāmzā*, a heroic poem treating of the wonderful deeds of Amir Hamzah, the uncle of the Prophet of Islam. Abdul Nabī had a beautiful style. The language of these poets, as preserved in the old MSS., does not differ from that of their Hindu contemporaries. In later 19th century printed editions

from Calcutta, they were considerably altered in language, with Perso-Arabic vocables and Urdu forms and idioms.

The greatest of these Bengali Muslim poets was Ālāol (al-Awwal: 1607-1680), who was at first a *protégé* of Māgan Thākura, mentioned above. His works comprise : the *Padmāvatī* (1651), an adaptation of the early Awadhi romance of the same name by Malik Muhammad Jāyasī (see under Hindi Literature, p. 126) ; *Saiful Mulk Badiuzzamān* (1659-1669), a love-romance on a theme from the *Arabian Nights* ; the *Haft Paikār* (1660) and *Sikandar-nāmā*, adaptations of two of the famous romances of the Persian poet Nizāmī (c. 1141-1203) ; and the *Tohfa* ('the Gift,' 1662), a translation of a well-known Persian treatise on the Musalman religion and its practices. The most popular of his works is the *Padmāvatī* ; its elaborate Sanskrit vocabulary never made it lose its popularity with the Muslims of East Bengal and Chittagong, and in Chittagong a class of reciters had made it their business to recite and to explain the *Padmāvatī*, with its Sufi inner meaning, before Muslim gatherings.

These writers introduced a new range of subjects for the people of Bengal, very largely though not entirely in the secular vein, from Persian and Arabic as well as Hindi sources, and in this way they brought in an Islamic strain in Indian literature at a time when the Dakhni poets were doing the same work in the Deccan, ultimately paving the way for Urdu.

These works of Islamic inspiration gave to the Bengali Muslim a new romantic literature which he could read or hear, and enjoy in the same way that the Hindus were doing the adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.

The work of continuing to bring the classic store-houses of story and romance in the above Sanskrit works continued in the 17th and 18th centuries (and down to the 19th century, when accurate and careful prose translations took the field). Following the work of Kṛttivāsa (p. 163), Mālādhara Vasu (p. 163), Kavindra and Śrīkara Nandi (pp. 165-66) and Raghu-nātha Bhāgavatācārya (p. 169) and other lesser known poets, Kāśīrama Dāsa of Singi in West Bengal (c. 1650) rendered the *Mahābhārata* into Bengali verse. His work is still a book for all and sundry, a universally read classic in Bengali. His elder brother Krishṇa-Kiṅkara wrote a poem on Krishṇa—the *Śrīkrṣṇa-vilāsa*, and a younger brother Gadādhara sang of the glories of Jagannātha of Puri in his *Jagannātha-maṅgala*.

We now come to the 18th century. Although the synthesis of Hindu (i.e. native Indian) and Muslim (i.e. mainly Persian) civilizations continued with greater vigour, this century in certain respects was one of decay, when the intellectual degeneracy of the ruling classes with their ignorance of the modern world and false perspective helped to bring about European domination and paved the way for the final English ascendancy. The centralized power of the Mogul Emperor in Delhi passed away, the Marathas and the Sikhs came to the forefront, the Rajputs and the Jats rebelled, and Muslim provincial governors set up as independent rulers. In Bengal the virtually independent Nawābs took control ; and as a result of their incapacity, there was a period of internal tyranny and anarchy. The English East India Company came in conflict with the Nawāb of Bengal Sirājuddaulāh, and a series of events, creditable neither to the English, nor to the Bengal traitors who aided them, nor again to Sirājuddaulāh and his supporters, led to the defeat of Sirājuddaulāh at Plassey in 1757, and to the final *de jure* establishment of English rule over Bengal in 1765. Bengal became the jumping ground for future British control and expansion over the whole of India.

During the 18th century, literature in Bengali along the old lines continued. Three great poets represent this century, among Hindu writers : Kavi-rañjana Rāma Prasāda Sēna (d. 1775) ; Rāya-guṇākara Bhārata Candra Rāya (? 1712-1760) ; and Rājā Jayanārāyaṇa Ghōṣāla of Bhūkailāsa near Calcutta (1752-1821). Rāma Prasāda was a mystic and a devotee of Kālī or Durgā, the Great Mother Goddess, and his songs on the Goddess, still very widely popular, bear testimony to his deep and fervent faith expressed in simple language. Bhārata Candra's great work is the *Annadā-maṅgala Kāvya*, also known as the *Kālikā-maṅgala* (1752). Himself the scion of an aristocratic family, he was under the patronage of Rājā Krishṇa-Candra of Nadiya. The *Annadā-maṅgala* is one of the most polished literary works of pre-British times in Bengali. It is deservedly popular. It consists of three parts—(i) Legends of Śiva and Pārvatī, (ii) the love story of Vidyā and Sundara (with the Sanskrit *Caura-pañcāśikā* of the Kashmir poet Bilhaṇa as a background), and (iii) a semi-historical story of Rājā Mān Singh of Amber coming to Bengal as a general of Emperor Jahāngīr to quell the rebellion of the Bengali *Zamīndār* or feudatory chief Pratāpāditya of Jessore. Bhārata Candra is a finished master of

language ; frequently of a mocking spirit, he is clever at describing incidents and types, and very clearly delineates individuals rather than mere types. He is quite frank and intimate in his treatment of some love scenes. More lines and couplets of his than of any other Bengali poet are current as proverbs. Rājā Jaya-nārāyaṇa Ghōṣāla, another shining light of the 18th-19th centuries, busied himself with social, religious and educational matters, endowing in Banaras, where he settled late in life, an English School which still bears his name. He translated into Bengali the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* section of the *Padma-purāṇa* from the Sanskrit, and added a vivid description of Banaras of his time, extremely interesting for the picture of life in the city at the end of the 18th century, and this is a unique work of its kind in Indian literature.

During the second half of this century, the leisured classes took pleasure in light songs and impromptu verses, and in verbal tricks rather than in sincerity of sentiment. Songs by improvisers in the light vein, and poetical contests (*Kavir-Ladāi*) where rival poets would seek to pour ridicule upon each other in impromptu (and often not too decent) verse, became very popular. This tradition was carried on into the next century, and some talented writers then came up. Among Muslim writers, poetry continued to flourish. Hāyat Muhammad of the Rangpur district wrote four works : *Ambia-Vānī* ("Message of the Prophets"), *Maharam-parva* or *Janga-nāmā* (c. 1723-1724, which is an account of the Karbala battle and the death of Hosain), *Citta-utthāna* (c. 1732-1733), an adaptation of a Persian rendering of the Sanskrit *Hitōpadēśa* ; and *Hetu-jijñāsā* (c. 1753-54), on Muslim Sufi mysticism. There were other poets who wrote on the theme of the battle of Karbala, so much popularized in India by the Shi'a Muslims. The theme became very popular with Bengali Muslims, particularly in East Bengal, like the *Mahābhārata* story with the Hindus. Nasrullāh Khān of Chittagong and Yakūb 'Ali of Baśīr-haṭ wrote two *Janga-nāmās* (on the Karbala theme). Daulat Wazīr Bahrām of Chittagong treated the Arab love-romance of Laylā and Majnū. There were other compositions, on the life of the Prophet, on Islamic mysticism and its assimilation to Hindu mysticism and *Yōga*, and on Perso-Arabic romance, by other writers like Zainuddīn, Ali-rāja (Wali Razā), Sher-lar and Shaikh Sādī.

The foundations of a Bengali prose-style were laid in the 18th century. We have just a few letters, from 1550 onwards, and legal

documents, with very few other specimens of Bengali prose. In 1599, a Portuguese Missionary from Goa, Dominic de Sosa, is said to have come to Bengal and learned the language and prepared a Catholic Catechism, which is no longer extant. In 1688, a Bengali convert to Catholicism, said to be a son of a Rājā of Bhūṣṛī in East Bengal, wrote a controversial work, a discussion between a Brahman and a Catholic, which was preserved in a Roman transcript and has been published by the University of Calcutta under the editorship of Dr. Surendra Nath Sen. The prose of this work is halting, and seems to be of foreign inspiration, and the work is of a crude kind, of rather silly propaganda. Padre Manoel da Assumpçam translated a *Catechism of the Catholic faith*, adding new matter, and wrote in Portuguese a Grammar of Bengali with a Portuguese-Bengali Vocabulary. Both these books he published from Lisbon (in the Roman character) in 1743. The Catechism, *Crepar Xaxtrēr Orth-bhed* (i.e. *Kṛpār Śāstrēr Artha-bheda*, "the Exposition of the Gospel of Mercy") is in Dacca dialect, and gives specimens of good Bengali prose. (Both these books have been edited and published from Calcutta.) Bengali thus came within the purview of study by Europeans. In 1778, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed wrote and published (using Bengali types cut in Bengal by a Bengali blacksmith) his *Grammar of the Benqal Language* from Hooghly : thus he initiated for Bengali its modern age—the age of printing.

Some stories, and other documents in prose were composed in Bengali during the latter part of the 18th century. But the foundation of the College of Fort William in Calcutta in 1799 to teach Indian languages to the officers of the East India Company, and the commencement of missionary work from Serampore by William Carey and his collaborators who started translations of the Bible and other works (in Bengali as well as in various other Indian languages) helped to establish a modern prose-style in Bengali. "With the advent of the English, we started to reason, and ceased to rime. Bengali prose came into being, and the Modern Age of Bengali literature was ushered in with the new century".

(3) New or Modern Bengali Literature : 1800-1950

Throughout the greater part of the 19th century, a veritable rebirth of the Bengali intellect took place, in which not only English literature and European thought took a leading part, but in addition the study, from a new plane, of Sanskrit literature was a potent

source of inspiration. While the English officials were trying to create a prose literature in Bengali to serve as text-books for young Englishmen coming to Bengal and seeking to learn Bengali, and the Baptist Missionaries in Serampore were busy publishing a great Bengali classic the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa and at the same time preparing translations of the Bible in Bengali and other Indian speeches and writing a Grammar of Bengali, the Bengalis themselves were not idle. For the College of Fort William, Rām-rām Basu wrote his *Life of Rājā Pratāpāditya* in Bengali, the first original Bengali work in prose to be printed from Bengali type (Serampore, 1801), and Mr̥tyuñjaya Vidyālañkāra from the same college wrote his *Puruṣa-parikṣā*, essaying two styles, one based on the colloquial, the other the newly developing heavy literary style with learned Sanskrit words. Bengali journalism began when John Marshman in 1818 started the weekly paper the *Samācāra-Darpana*, or 'Mirror of News'. By 1825, a workable Bengali prose style became fully established, while there was no prose 15 years before.

Rājā Rām Mōhan Roy (Rāya : ? 1774-1833), rightly known as "the Father of Modern India", brought home to the Indians the necessity of modernizing themselves ; and at the same time he discovered for modern India the treasures of Indian thought through the Unitarian Theosophy of the *Upanishads* and the *Vēdānta*. He laid the foundations of the Brahmo (*Brāhma*) Samāj, the first intellectual and cultural expression of a renascent India under the impact of Europe. Rām Mōhan Roy knew Sanskrit, Persian (in which he wrote a book), and Arabic, and then he studied and wrote in English, besides acquiring a knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He was a great innovator in Modern Bengali literature. He translated some of the *Upanishads* into Bengali from the Sanskrit, wrote in English a Grammar of Bengali (1826—the first work from a native Bengali on his mother-tongue), and published tracts and pamphlets on his religious and social views in both Bengali and English. Rām Mōhan Roy was made a Rājā by the Mogul Emperor in Delhi who sent him to London to plead for him as against the East India Company before the British Parliament. He was in close touch with Unitarian circles in England, and he died in Bristol in 1833, one of the first cultured Indians to come to Europe. It was Rām Mōhan Roy who tried to get the inhuman practice of the *Suttee*, already falling into desuetude, legally stopped by the English Government.

Defferent in aims and ideals from Rām Mōhan Rōy were a number of orthodox Hindu literary men, among whom were Rājā Rādhākānta Dēva (1793-1867), who compiled the great Sanskrit lexicon arranged in alphabetical order, the *Śabda-Kalpa-druma* ; and the writer Bhavānī Carāṇa Vandyōpādhyāya (or Banerji : 1787-1848). The latter wrote some powerfui satirical sketches of society in Calcutta, edited a paper the *Samācāra-candrikā*, and translated a number of Hindu sacred works from the Sanskrit.

The language of the first prose-writers of Bengali during the first half of the 19th century was rather stiff, as can only be expected in pioneer work, and was overloaded with uncommon Sanskrit words. But by 1850, a very flexible prose-style was established, chiefly through the works of Īśwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (1820-1891), Pyārī Chānd Mitra (1814-1883) and Akshay Kumār Datta (1820-1886). Īśwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar was one of the greatest men of Bengal, as an educationist (as Principal of the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta he revolutionized the teaching of Sanskrit while popularizing it ; he helped to spread English education by founding a school and a college in Calcutta, now known after his name ; and he was an ardent supporter of women's education), as a social reformer (he made widow remarriage among Hindus legal by getting a law adopted in 1854, and he tried to put a stop to polygamous marriages among a section of the Brahmans), and as Bengali stylist (he translated and adapted Sanskrit and English works into Bengali, and inaugurated the writing of Bengali prose in such a fine and lucid manner as to earn the sobriquet of "the Father of Bengali Prose"). His simple and logical periods, with a judicious use of Sanskrit words, made writing easier in Bengali ; and for several generations, young Bengalis would begin their education in their mother-tongue and in Sanskrit with his primers, readers and grammars. Pyārī Chānd Mitra wrote a social novel, *Ālālēr Gharēr Dulāl* ('the Spoilt child of a Rich House', 1858), remarkable both for its subject and treatment and for its language, being in a language reflecting the racy colloquial of Calcutta. Akshay Kumār Datta's *Essays* on various subjects show a decided advance towards reasoned thinking and logical prose expression. Along with Akshay Kumār are to be mentioned two prominent prosateurs, contemporaneous with him, Rāj-Nārāyaṇ Basu and Tārā-Śaṅkar Tarka-ratna who wrote an abridged version of the Sanskrit romance the *Kādambarī*. And we have the

first realistic social novel in Bengali in Tārak-nāth Ganguli's *Svarṇa-latā* (1874).

The late 18th century style of composing poems in poetical contests continued, and was succeeded early in the 19th by various types of verse composition for singing in the public. A great poet in this style was of Dāśarathi Rāy (1804-1857), who is quite remarkable for his spontaneity of language, his freshness and novelty of ideas and similes, and in his sense of humour combined with the knowledge of human character. Īśwar Chandra Gupta (1812-1859) may be called the last great poet of the old school, and he was one of the first moderns as well. He started a paper, the *Samvāda-Prabhākara*, and wrote a biography (the only one written up to his time on a Bengali Writer) of the 18th century poet Bhārata Candra Rāya Guṇākara ; he was a humorist as well. After him, two outstanding writers took the lead in Bengali literature : the poet Māikel (Michael) Madhusūdan Datta (1824-1873) and the novelist and essayist Bankim Chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya (Chatterji : 1838-1894).

The third quarter of the 19th century, with the first decade of the 20th, is often called the Madhusūdan-Bankim Age in Bangali literature. M. Madhusūdan Datta's was a restless spirit. He was a typical specimen of "Young Bengal" of the Forties of the last century, in whom a discontent (not always "a divine discontent") within the limited scope for self-development and self-expression in Hindu society was engendered through their contact with English and other European literature, and they were eager to participate in the life and thought and action in a wider world. But mostly they met with frustration in a society which was under the political and cultural domination of an alien people. He became a Christian early in youth, and wrote in English at first ; and later he discovered his mother-tongue, and to qualify properly for creating a great modern literature in it, he learnt a number of European languages in addition to English, to study their literatures first-hand : French, Italian, Greek, Latin. (He studied Sanskrit and Telugu in addition). He used native Indian themes, but treated them in a distinctly modern i. e. European way, as in his great epic poem the *Megha-nāda-vadhā Kāvya* ('The Slaying of Mēghanād' : 1861) on a theme from the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* ; in his *Virāṅganā-Kāvya* he essayed the style of the *Heroides* of the Latin poet Ovid, but with an epic grandeur all his own ; and in his beautiful lyrics on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend ;

(*Vrajāṅgaṇā-Kāvya*) he followed the old Vaishnava poets, in catching their depth of feeling, though in his own inimitable and withal modern way. He naturalized the European blank verse in Bengali, also the Italian sonnet, having written a beautiful series of sonnets (*Caturdaśa-paḍī Kavitaṅgalī*); and, besides, he had a number of effective plays in various moods, influenced by his European readings. He also tried to bring an echo of Homer's rolling hexameters into Bengali prose in his unfinished fragment *Hekṭar-Vadha* or 'the Slaying of Hector'. He sojourned for some time in England to study law, lived also in France, and had a French lady, whom he had married in India, as his second wife, who proved to be most devoted to her husband (his first wife was an English girl from whom he had separated).

Bankim Chandra Chāṭṭōpādhyāya, novelist and essayist, is generally looked upon as the greatest writer of Bengali before Rabindranath Tagore. He started with a novel in English, *Rajmohan's Wife* (1864). His first novel in Bengali, the *Durgēśa-nandini* or 'the Daughter of the Lord of the Fort', a romance of the stirring days of the Mogul conquest of Bengal from the Pathans, appeared in 1865. This was followed by a series of more than a dozen of other novels, historical and social, which won him a permanent place in Bengali literature and in the rank of constructive thinkers and writers in Modern India. In 1872, he began to bring out a literary journal, the *Vaṅga-Darśana*, which he continued for 4 years, and which gave a new tone to Bengali literature. Among his historical novels, *Rāj-simha* and *Sitārām* as well as *Candra-śekhara* may be specially mentioned; *Viṣa-vṛkṣa* ('the Poison Tree') and *Kṛṣṇa-kānter Uil* ('The Testament of Kṛishṇa-kānta') are the most successful of his social novels; while *Kapāla-kunḍalā* (1866), the story of a young girl brought up by a Tantrik Yogi far from the dwellings of men, who is happily married but is drawn, in spite of herself, into tragedy, is one of the finest works of pure romance and imagination in any language. His *Ānanda-maṭh* ('the Monastery of Bliss') contains the song *Vandē Mātaram* ('I salute my Mother'), partly in Sanskrit and partly in Bengali, which (specially in its opening lines) until recently was recognized as the National Anthem of India (now officially, the great song by Rabindranath, the *Jana-gaṇa-mana-Adhināyaka* has been given that honour; but *Vandē Mātaram* is still recognized as the second or alternative National Anthem of India). His *Kṛṣṇa-caritra* is the first

serious attempt by an Indian writer to rediscover the human individual behind the legend of a Divine Incarnation. A sense of romantic wonder in history, and at the same time a realistic view of the life around him is engendered in the reader by his novels and his essays. He fed both the intellect and imagination of the masses, and felt it his mission to rouse the patriotic consciousness of his people, as much as to hold out great ideals before them. In the subsequent development of Bengal's and India's national and political consciousness, Bankim Chandra's writings exerted a tremendous influence. His novels and other works have been translated into almost all the languages of India, and they have acquired a permanent place there.

Another personality who took a leading part in the Indian revival, through a resurgent and even an aggressive Hinduism (based on the Vēdānta philosophy and on the teachings of his Master the great saint Rāma-kṛṣṇa Paraṃa-haṃsa), and through a spirit of service of man, was Swāmī Vivēkānanda (1863-1902). He employed the term *Daridra-Nārāyaṇa* ('God in the Poor') to mean the dumb, suffering masses of India, whose betterment more than anything else was his aim in life. (In this he anticipated Mahātmā Gāndhī's use of the term *Hari-jan* or 'God's People' to describe the depressed castes and classes in India). Vivēkānanda went to America and to Europe with the universal message of Hinduism, which, thanks to his great personality and the power of his speeches and writings, for the first time came to have its place in modern Western thought. He was a powerful writer of Bengali as well as English, in both prose and verse.

Raṅgalāl Vandyōpādhyāya (Banerji : 1827-1887) wrote some fine romantic poems on themes of Rajput chivalry (*Padminī*, 1858 ; *Karmadevī*, 1862 ; and *Śūra-sundarī*, 1868), and a charming romance from Oriya history which he narrated beautifully (*Kāñcī-Kaverī*, 1879). He translated Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava* into Bengali. His powers of description were unprecedented in Bengali, as well as his feel for romance ; and he was one of the great inculcators of a love of country.

In 1829, the Englishman Colonel James Tod published from London his famous work on Rajput history and chivalry, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in 2 big volumes, in which he displayed a burning and eloquent admiration for the bravery and other great qualities of the Rajputs. This book, translated into

Bengali, became immediately a mine of romantic tales and adventures, and was almost exalted to a place beside the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Much of the romantic literature of Modern Bengal and of India is directly due to this great book. Raṅgalāl's poems of Rajput chivalry brought to Bengal the message of freedom for its own sake, of renunciation and self-sacrifice on the part of both men and women for a great ideal : they also established a sense of romance in history.

The drama took its rise in Bengal from the seventies, and preliminary efforts in this direction were noticed earlier. The old popular drama of Bengal, of a religious character with farcial interludes—the *Yātrā* plays, in costume, but without scenes, and much singing with music, was an important source. A Russian fortune-seeker who was also something of a scholar and a man of culture, Gerasim Lebedev, came to Calcutta in 1795 and sartered the first Bengali theatre in the European style, in which he staged one play translated from English into Bengali. Lebedev left Calcutta shortly after, and this initiation of the Bengali people to the European theatre proved to be of no permanent effect at that time. Sanskrit dramas in translation gave some ideas ; and there were the English plays, and the English stage in Calcutta, which was the great impelling force in the creation of a modern Bengali drama. Dīnabandhu Mitra (1830-1873), a close friend of Bankim Chandra's, was one of the makers of the Bengali drama. He wrote some comedies of life which are still popular, and one drama of his, the *Nila-Darpaṇa* (Dacca, 1860) helped to remove the abuses of the system by which the European indigo-planters were able to tyrannize over the villagers of lower Bengal. An English Missionary, the Rev. James Long, translated the book into English, to bring home to Englishmen the force of this exposure : but he was fined for this—the fine was paid by Indians. A few dramatic works came out before Dīnabandhu Mitra's compositions, but these have now only a historical interest.

Rāja Rājēndralāla Mitra (1822-1891) was an historian, and the first Bengali antiquarian. He used to publish a very useful illustrated paper of general information and interest, the *Vividhārtha-saṅgraha*, which had a great educative value.

Bhūdēva Mukhōpādhyāya (Mukherji : 1825-1894) was an educationist, a prose-writer and a journalist. He wanted to preserve the best elements in Hindu culture while effecting a synthesis between the West and the East. His several volumes of essays on

social and cultural conservation and reconstruction have still their value and message.

Kālīprasanna Sīmha (1845-1870) was another progressive spirit in the fold of orthodox Hindu society. He brought out a prose translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, translated two Sanskrit dramas, and wrote his *Hutōm Pñcār Naksā* ('the Sketches of the Hooting Owl', 1863), a picture of Calcutta society in the racy style of the spoken dialect of Calcutta with all its contemporary slangs and idioms, and it is one of the classics of Bengali prose, as much as the translation of the *Mahābhārata* prepared by a number of Sanskrit scholars under his direction in a formal and stately Sanskritic Bengali. Kaliprasanna Sīmha accomplished much in a short life.

Vihārīlāl Chakravartī (1835-1894) wrote poems in a new vein of imagination and in new verse cadences. Rabindranath Tagore acknowledged his indebtedness to Vihārīlāl.

Hem Chandra Vandyōpādhyāya (Banerji : 1838-1903) translated Shakspere's *Romeo & Juliet* and *Tempest* into Bengali. His epic poem the *Vṛtra-saṁhāra* was inspired by Madhusūdan's *Meghanāda-vadha Kāvya*. He was a poet of fervent nationalism and profound imagination. He and Navīn Chandra Sen are looked upon as next in order to Michael Madhusūdan Datta in the pre-Rabindranath hierarchy of Bengali poets.

Navīn Chandra Sen (1847-1909), from Chittagong, wrote some long poems in which he gave a new interpretation of the life and teachings of Kṛishṇa (*Kurukṣetra*, *Raivataka*, *Prabhāsa*), and in three long poems (*Amitābha*, *Khrīṣṭa*, *Amṛtābha*) he treated the lives of Buddha, Christ and Caitanya respectively. He also wrote a verse romance (*Raṅgamatī*), and a historical poem on the establishment of English rule in Bengal (*Palāśir Yuddha*, 'the Battle of Plassey'). He was a versatile writer, with a very well-written prose romance (*Bhānumatī*) to his credit. His very racy and personal autobiography (*Āmār Jīvan*, 'My Life'), published in five volumes, reveals him to be a little Byronic, making a hero of himself, yet quite loveable, and his knowledge of men and manners was very shrewd and intimate.

Rāj Kṛishṇa Rāy (? 1849-1894) was a voluminous writer. He was the editor of a magazine devoted to the study of poetry, and he also directed a theatre. His dramas were quite popular, and his poems on a variety of subjects, though topical, are quite noteworthy.

He made complete verse translations in Bengali of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.

Dwijēndranāth Thākura (Tagore : 1840-1926), eldest brother of Rabindranath Tagore, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his time. He was a poet, an artist, a musician, a student of science, and a philosopher, rich in both human sympathies and in philosophical detachment. Among his works, the *Swapna-Prayāṇa* ('Dream-Journey') is an allegorical poem, original in plan and charming in execution, with an occasional semi-serious mood.

Jyōtirindranāth Tagore (1848-1925), the fifth elder brother of Rabindranath Tagore, was another great literary figure. His four original dramas (*Puru-vikrama*, about Alexander the Great and Porus, 1874 ; *Sarōjinī*, describing the attack of Alāuddīn Khiljī on Chitor, 1875 ; *Aśrumatī*, relating to the times of Akbar and Pratāp Siṃha of Mewar, 1879 ; and *Swapnamayī*, an episode of 18th-century Bengal, 1882), were at one time very popular. He translated most of the important Sanskrit dramas, and his translations, from French and English, as well as from Marāṭhi, extended the horizons of Bengali literature.

Romesh Chūnder Dutt (*Rameśa-Candra Datta* : 1848-1909), as the historian of Hindu Civilization, translator of the *R̥g-vēda* into Bengali prose, and writer on Indian Economics, and a novelist of eminence, was one of the leaders of thought in Modern India. His three historical novels (*Rājput Jivan-Sandhyā* ; *Mahārāṣṭra Jivan-Prabhāt* ; *Mādhavī-kaṅkaṇa*) and two social novels (*Saṁsār* and *Samāj*) are well-known, and some of these have been translated into English, and most into Hindi.

Girīś Chandra Ghosh (*Ghōṣa* : 1844-1911) is regarded as the greatest dramatist of Bengal, with some 90 dramas, farces and sketches—historical, social and legendary—to his credit. He was an actor-dramatist of great eminence. Of his dramatic works, *Bilwa-maṅgala*, *Praphulla*, *Janā*, *Pāṇḍava-gaurava*, *Buddha-dēva-carita*, *Caitanya-līlā*, *Sirājuddaulā*, *Aśoka*, *Hārā-nidhi*, *Śaṅkarācārya*, *Śāsti-ki-Śānti* are among the best and most popular in the Bengali language. His Bengali translation of Shakspere's *Macbeth* is a very successful rendering of a difficult book. There is a deep vein of faith and piety in his works,—he became a profoundly admiring disciple of Rāma-kṛṣṇa Paramahansa. Although orthodox in his views, in his social dramas he has shown the evils of society with rare power,—occasionally melodramatic, but enlivened by his great

sense of humour ; and some of his historical plays are full of patriotic fervour.

Amṛta-lāl Bose (Vasu, or Basu : 1853-1929) was also an actor-dramatist, like Giriś Chandra Ghosh. His comedies and farces, replete with humour, are immensely popular. A vein of idealism suffuses all his works, and he was a great champion of the good old ways of Bengali life. He used to be called 'the Molière of Bengal', as much as Giriś-Chandra was known as 'the Bengali Shakspeare'.

Two Bengali writers in the humorous vein belong to this age—Trailōkya-nāth Mukhōpādhyāya (1847-1919), novelist and short-story writer, and Indra-nāth Vandyōpādhyāya (1849-1911), essayist and satirist, whose writings are distinctive and form definite contributions to Bengali literature.

Haraprasād Śāstrī (1853-1931), Sanskrit scholar, historian and antiquarian, was also a novelist and essayist of distinction. His novels relating to the early history of India and Bengal (*Bēṇēr Mēye* or 'the Merchant's Daughter,' and *Kāñcana-mālā*), and his papers on Indian literature, religion and civilization, as well as an imaginative prose-poem the *Vālmīkir Jaya*, are written in beautiful and forceful Bengali leaning towards the colloquial idiom. He also made substantial contributions to the study of the history and culture of Early Bengal, and his discoveries of some old texts (like the *Caryāpadas* for Bengali, and the *Varṇa-ratnākara* and *Kīrti-latā* for Maithili) were epoch-making for the historical study of these languages.

At the beginning of the 20th century, a great political and cultural upheaval marked the history of Bengal and India. The National Movement, born in the sixties of the last century, and fostered by the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, was growing apace. But when in 1905, Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, evidently to break the solidarity of the Bengali-speaking people, cut Bengal into two provinces ('the Partition of Bengal'), the entire Bengali people (barring some Muslim Bengalis in East Bengal who were won over by the Government) rose in protest. A tremendous wave of nationalism flooded the whole country, not only Bengal, but also the rest of India ; and the Independence Movement from now took a definite form. There was as its corollary, the *Swadeshi* or "One's Own Country" Movement, seeking to rehabilitate everything

Indian, from textiles to language. It also involved the boycott of British goods in favour of Indian, as an economic measure against Britain and in favour of Indian enterprise. This had its repercussion on language and literature. Rabindranath Tagore, already well-known as a poet, joined the National Movement from its inception. The winning of the Nobel Prize for literature by Tagore in 1913 helped to strengthen the rising tide of patriotism in Bengal and in India ; and all this inaugurated "the Age of Rabindranath" in Bengali literature which is still continuing.

Rabindranath Tagore (*Ravindra-nātha Thākura* : 1861-1941) was quite early recognized as a rising young writer. In poetry and the drama, in the novel and the short story, in the essay and criticism—in all the various types of literature, he discovered new things and new view-points, and found out new cadences and new powers of his mother-tongue ; and he presented them to his enthusiastic country-men. Supreme beauty combined with breadth of vision and depth of feeling, and with a mystic realization of the Unseen, manifests itself in his writings, in both form and content : he truly deserves to be called *Vāk-pati* or 'Lord of Speech'. He founded the School of Śānti-nikētan and the University of Viśva-bhārati, and in his endeavour to improve our villages and their economic life, he founded the institution of Srī-nikētan. His contributions to Indian Music, Dramaturgy and the Dance are also of the greatest significance and of supreme value in India. He is incomparable as a lyric poet, and his songs (on Love, on Nature and the Seasons, on God, on Man and Man's Life) number over 2000, to each of which he has contributed the melody. Several sequences of his lyrics and allegorical poems, with his sense of the Supernatural and of the Ultimate Reality, make him one of the greatest mystic writers of the world. His essays are conspicuous for their sanity of thought and clarity of exposition, and are rationalistic and imaginative, and factual and poetic at the same time. His novels and short stories are realistic, dramatic, as well as introspective. The English translations of his works, mostly done by himself, and his original writings in English, have made him world-famous, among all the civilized peoples of the earth. He has always been an Internationalist, a fervent believer in the Oneness of Mankind, and an indefatigable worker for the Integration of India with the whole world, while retaining at the same time the things of permanent and universal value in India's life and thought.

In the year 1961-1962, the First Birth-Centenary of Rabindranath Tagore has been celebrated in a unique way throughout the whole of India and all through the civilized countries, and this testifies to his position as a world-figure in the domains of literature and thought, art and culture, politics and education—in short, in an all-embracing universal Humanism.

Rabindranath, in spite of his towering greatness, was not an isolated figure in Bengali literature. Among his contemporaries, earlier and later, we have to mention particularly : (1) Gōvinda Chandra Dās, poet (1854-1918) ; (2) Dēvēndranāth Sen, poet (1858-1920) ; (3) Akshay Kumār Baṛāl, poet (1860-1919) ; (4) Rajanī-Kānta Sen, poet (1865-1910) ; (5) Mrs. Kāminī Rāy, poetess of rare charm (1864-1933) ; (6) Mrs. Swarṇa-Kumārī Dēvī, a sister of Rabindranath Tagore, novelist (1855-1932) ; (7) Girīndra-mōhinī Dāsī, poetess (1858-1924) ; (8) Mānkumārī Basu, poetess (1863-1943) ; (9) Akshay Kumār Maitrēya, historian (1861-1930) ; (10) Rāmēndra-Sundar Trivēdī, (1864-1919), essayist, scientist, philosopher ; (11) Satyēndranāth Datta (1882-1922), a master in the use of language and metre, and a poet of exceptional power ; (12) Prabhāt Kumār Mukhōpādhyāya (Mukherji : 1873-1932), novelist and short-story writer, marked by verisimilitude and sympathetic treatment of character ; (13) Dwijēndra-Lāl Rāy (1868-1913), poet and dramatist, whose historical dramas have had a wide vogue (they have been translated into Hindi as well : he was also a writer of satires and poems of humour, and of some popular national songs) ; (14) Kshirōd Chandra Vidyāvinōd (1864-1927), also an outstanding dramatist, author of some 50 plays, on themes from the Muslim world outside India, from Indian history and from Hindu legend and mythology ; (15) Atul Prasād Sen (1871-1934), writer of charming songs and lyrics which he himself set to music ; (16) Rākhāl-dās Vandyōpādhyāya (Banerji : 1884-1930), historian and archaeologist, and author of a number of vivid historical novels which also have had their influence on Hindi ; (17) Hīrēndranāth Datta (1868-1942), philosopher and essayist ; (18) Rāmānanda Chatterji (1864-1943), journalist, for forty years edited two of the most important journals of India, which he himself founded, the *English Modern Review* and the *Bengali Pravāsi*, and brought out a first class Hindi monthly in addition, the *Viśāla-Bhārata* ; (19) Jaladhar Sen (1862-1939), novelist and journalist ; (20) Kēdar-nāth

Vandyōpādhyāya (1863-1949), novelist and humorist ; (21) Mrs. Nirupamā Dēvī (d. 1951), and (22) Mrs. Anurūpā Dēvī (d. 1958), social novelists of eminence.

An outstanding figure in present-day Bengali and Indian literature is Śarat Chandra Chaṭṭōpādhyāya (Chatterji : 1876-1938).^{*} He wrote a large number of social novels (e. g. *Śrī-kānta*, in 4 parts ; *Gr̥ha-dāha* ; *Dattā* ; *Pallī-Samāj* ; *Dēnī-Pāonā* ; *Virāj-Bau* ; *Dēva-dāsa* ; *Candranātha* ; *Caritrahīna* ; *Śesa-Praśna*, etc. etc.) in a very simple and charming style. His sympathies for the underdog and his plain-speaking have endeared him to his readers, both in Bengal and outside Bengal (through translations). Śarat Chandra has laid open the sores in the social body, but he has no solution to offer for the betterment of the society he pictures with such fidelity. His novels, nevertheless, have a dynamic power ; and dramatized and performed on the stage by an actor-dramatist of the genius of Śīśir Kumār Bhāduṛī, their value appears to be further enhanced. After Rabindranath Tagore, Śarat Chandra Chatterji is the most popular Bengali author, who is also in vogue in most of the Indian languages through direct or second-hand translations, and his influence has been immense in the development of the questioning spirit and of psychological analysis in modern literature in India.

A standard literary Bengali is used for prose writing all over the province ; but there are many works in the Colloquial of Calcutta and the surrounding area. In 1863, the Calcutta colloquial made its entry into literature in the *Hutōm Pēcār Naksā* by Kālī-prasanna Siṃha. Rabindranath took it up, and the novelist and essayist Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868-1946) became its great champion, particularly through his powerful journal the *Sabuj-Patra* or 'the Green Leaf'. Now both the styles of Bengali are used side by side in printed literature, but the Calcutta colloquial is gaining ground more and more, even in East Bengal (East Pakistan) after the Partition. It is now largely used in fiction, and it reigns supreme on the stage and in the radio as well as in the cinema.

During the last thirty years, dominated as the period has been by the genius of Rabindranath Tagore, there was at first a brief period when there was the vogue of a stark Realism, emphasizing the morbidities of sex, among a group of young and talented writers who have now largely outgrown their youthful predilections. This has been followed by a stress on Socialism and Communism,

sometimes sincere, but frequently of a fashionable type. A few strong novels have appeared, but most of it is ephemeral, the author's anxiety for new and piquant forms in literature being in many cases an obsession. There has been also some leaning upon the eccentric writers of English, and on the literary output of Soviet Russia through English versions. But the present-day literature of Bengali is particularly strong in fiction, seeking to depict life and human nature in its true colours, both through the novel and the short story. Travel literature and the essay also are its strong points. It has quite a good number of active authors, who are carrying on most worthily the tradition of Rabindranath and of Śarat Chandra. A few outstanding names can only be mentioned. Among poets, Jatīndra-mōhan Bāgchi (1878-1948), Karuṇī-nidhān Vandyōpādhyāya (1877-1955), Kumud-Rañjan Mallik (born 1882), Jatīndra-nāth Sen-Gupta (1887-1954), Kālidās Rāy (born 1889 : poet and literary critic), and Mōhitlāl Majumdār (1888-1952 : also a poet and literary critic of eminence) are among the senior writers ; and among the younger group are to be mentioned Mrs. Rādhārānī Devi, a poetess of note, who has given a most convincing and faithful interpretation of the thoughts and ways and life of the Bengali middle class girl and woman in the series of pomes, ushering in quite a new style, which she published under the pseudonym of 'Aparājita Devī' ; Nazrul Islām, widely popular in both West Bengal and East Bengal (Pakistan) for his exquisite songs and lyrics, a writer of genius now out of his mind ; Jivanānanda Dās (1899-1954), Sudhīndra-nāth Datta (1901-1960), Amiya Chakravartī, Prēmēndra Mitra (besides being a novelist and short-story writer), Ajit Datta, Vivēkānanda Mukherji, Bimal Chandra Ghosh, Vishṇu De, Samar Sen, Sukānta Bhaṭṭāchārya (1926-1947), and others. Among prose-writers, the following novelists and general writers are outstanding : Tārā-Śankar Banerji (b. 1898), who is regarded by many as "first among equals" in contemporary Bengali fiction ; Vibhūti Bhūshaṇa Banerji (1898-1950), whose *Pathēr-Pāchālī* (with its sequel *Aparājita*) and *Āraṇyaka* breathed the spirit of the Bengali countryside and of the Bihar forest areas ; Rāj-Śēkhar Basu (1880-1960), a writer of wonderful humorous stories, who is at the same time one of the high priests of rationalism in modern India ; Annadā Śankar Rāy, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, whose short stories and novels with their cynicism and humour and penetrating insight

into men and manners are quite distinctive—he is one of the most erudite and most cultured writers of Bengali ; Dr. Balāi Mukherji (with his sobriquet *Bana-phul* or 'Wild Flower'), whose versatility is remarkable ; Satīnāth Bhāduṛī, a novelist of rare power, and author of *Jāgari* ('the Vigil') and other works ; Vibhūti Bhūṣhāna Mukherji, Achintya Kumār Sen-Gupta, Manōj Basu, Mānik Banerji (1910-1957 : a powerful and distinguished novelist and short-story writer), Prabōdh Kumār Sānyāl (a lover of nature and a delicate observer of human character), Śailajānanda Mukherji (novelist), Pramatha Nath Biśī (dramatist, poet and essayist), Gajendra Kumār Mitra, Sumatha Ghosh, Nārāyaṇ Ganguli, Ramēś Chandra Sen, Subōdh Ghosh, Narēndranāth Mitra, Gourī-Śankar Bhaṭṭācharya, Samarēś Basu, and others ; all of the above writers are novelists and short-story writers of remarkable power. This list may be further extended with the following names : Wazed Ali, a general prose writer of note (1890-1951) ; Buddha-dēva Basu, poet, novelist and short-story writer ; Kāzī Abdul Wadūd, novelist, critic and essayist ; Sajanī Kānta Dās, poet, novelist, and editor of the well-known literary journal the *Śanibārēr Ciṭhī* or 'the Saturday Letter' ; Maṇīndralāl Basu, novelist ; Prēmāṅkur Ātarthī, novelist ; Narēndra Dēva, poet and general prose writer (Rādhārānī Dēvī, noted above, is his wife) ; Dr. Sukumār Sen, eminent philologist, author of the comprehensive history of Bengali literature, and essayist of note ; Gōpāl Hāldār, novelist and essayist, a leader of thought in Communist Party of India who is one of our sanest writers ; Mrs. Śāntā Dēvī and Mrs. Sītā Dēvī, sisters, daughters of the journalist-patriot Rāmānanda Chatterji, novelists ; Mrs. Āśāpūrṇā Dēvī, novelist and short-story writer ; besides 'Avadhūta,' a powerful novelist—he was a Tantric Yogi for many years ; his novels have a lurid descriptive and a psychological quality, but with a leaning towards the macabre and the erotic. The names of some very young writers, many of them belonging to "progressive" schools, are not mentioned.

Mention should, however, be made of the high literary quality of the contributions of the artist Abanīndranāth Tagore (1871-1951), a nephew of Rabindranath Tagore, who inspired the artistic renaissance of Modern India. He wrote books, sometimes illustrated by himself, meant obviously for children, but they have an appeal for all lovers of imaginative literature. Some little dramas show his subtle and profound sense of humour. He

wrote also some serious papers on Art. His revival of ancient and mediaeval India in art, and his representation of modern India also, are of inestimable value in both the artistic and literary domains. Another great artist in literary humour, who composed nonsense stories and rimes of unique merit, was Sukumār Rāy (1887-1923).

Before the Partition of India, some Muslim politicians were of opinion that an independent Muslim Bengali literature of Muslim inspiration should develop. But the best Muslim writers never thought of separatism in language and literature, although some preferred to use more Persian and Arabic words than Hindu writers did. Excepting for some new editions of the mediaeval Muslim classics in Bengali like the *Jang-nāmā* and the *Āmīr Hāmzā*, and books of that nature, the average Muslim writer, whether in prose or verse, particularly among the educated classes, has used exactly the same kind of Bengali as the Hindu writers. From the fourth quarter of the last century some prominent Muslim writers have come up. The older group includes poets like Kaikobād and Mozammal Haqq, and novelists like Mīr Musharraf Hosain (whose great historical-religious novel on the death of Hosain at the field of Karbala, the theme of the *Jang-nāmā*, the *Viṣāda-Sindhu*, or 'the Ocean of Sorrow' has run through more than a dozen editions). Among modern writers, first mention is to be made of the poet Nazrul Islām, who has been noted before, famous as a lyric writer and author of several powerful poems, favourite equally of Hindus and Muslims both.

The distinctive Muslim contribution to the mystico-devotional literature of Bengali has been through the Middle Bengali *Mārifati* songs, of Sufi inspiration. This school is on the wane through the prevalence of a strictly orthodox Quranic Islam, but good collections of these have been made. The Muslim *intelligentsia* is now active in many fields, and Muslim novelists, short-story writers, and literary critics in Bengali are in the forefront. Mention has been made of a personality in Bengali literature like Kāzī Abdul Wadūd, who is a novelist, and a literary critic and essayist of great significance, his study of Rabindranath Tagore being followed by a fine two-volume study of Goethe. Prof. Humāyūn Kabīr, a Minister of the Central Government in Delhi, is a poet of talent and a prose writer on cultural historical, philosophical and other topics. A volume of his experiences as a Professor in Kabul during

the stormy days of Bacca-i-Saqao's coming to power after expelling Amānullāh from the rulership of Afghanistan by Dr Saiyad Mujtabā Ali (*Dēśē-Vidēśē*), and his essays on all sorts of topics in a light vein, as well as his beautiful short stories, all written in a language which would be the envy of any Hindu writer, are among the best things produced in Bengali in recent years. Among other Muslim writers of the present day (the political opinions of a few of whom might be different, "Islamic" and Pakistani, and some of them have gone over to Pakistan, but they have all contributed to add to the greatness of Bengali literature), these names at least should be mentioned. Poets—Ghōlām Mostāfā, Jasīmuddīn, Abdul Kādir, Bande Ali, Mohiuddīn, Farrukh Ahmad, Ahsān Habīb, and others; essayists and scholars of eminence—Dr. Muhammad Shahīdullāh, philologist, essayist and poet; Abu Saiyid Ayyub, who belongs to West Bengal, essayist of note who is for cultural integration of Hindus and Muslims, and a progressive and a rational thinker with a true sense of nationalism, besides being one of the best representatives of current Bengali; Motaher Hosain Chaudhuri, essayist; Mrs. Shamsun Nahar, poetess, educationist, and journalist; Abul Mansur Ahmad, satirist, short-story writer and essayist; Abul Fazal, novelist and short-story writer; Rezāul Karim, an ardent follower of the Congress, preacher of Hindu-Muslim unity, essayist; Mahbūbul Ālam, prose writer. Discrimination cannot be made between the Bengali writers, Hindu or Muslim, of West Bengal (India) and East Bengal (Pakistan), as they all serve the cause of the same great literature, and have common inheritance of a basic culture.

The situation just before the Partition was quite hopeful for the Bengali people, inspite of very great economic distress and a famine which carried away over three millions of people and which had resulted from economic mismanagements and profiteering in the wake of the Second World War. The Partition has hit the Bengali-speaking people very hard: suddenly, a compact bloc of over 65 millions found itself divided among two mutually exclusive states, through an arbitrary border-line drawn within the same country which is a flat plain with scores of rivers in it. The Pakistan Government at Karachi and Lahore is anxious to make the Bengali-speaking Muslims cut themselves off from their national speech and its historic affinities. Attempts were made to make the Bengali Muslims in East Bengal write their language in the Arabic character, but

this did not succeed at all, and there has been strong opposition from Muslim students and others against this plan, and against the imposition of Urdu. It only remains for the future to see how the language will be affected. In the meanwhile, millions of Hindus are being squeezed out of East Bengal into West Bengal, which is creating new and difficult economic problems and problems arising out of the moral debacle of displaced persons driven from home and employment only because of their religion ; and this spells disaster for both the Bengals. There are some 30 millions of Bengalis in West Bengal, and over 42 millions in East Bengal, with the fate of 7 to 8 millions of Hindus in East Bengal in the balance (in addition to some 3 millions, and perhaps more, who have come to West Bengal as refugees and displaced persons, and more are coming) creating a situation which is frightening, and appearing impossible of solution. We can only watch the political sky, and hope for a just and proper solution of the situation through the operation of Time and Necessity.

ASSAMESE LITERATURE

Assamese is spoken along the valley of the Brahmaputra river. Numerically, Assamese is not important, the number of people speaking it coming upto about 3 millions, but its literary output is quite respectable, showing the high culture of its speakers. The language is very much like Bengali, and the same script is used (only Assamese has a separate letter for *w*, and its letter for *r* is slightly different from that of Bengali). Early Assamese and Early Bengali appear to have been just one language with minor dialectal variations. The *Caryā-padas* of Old Bengali (see before, p. 158) have also been claimed for Old Assamese.

The oldest Assamese writer seems to have been Hēma Saraswatī (late 13th century). He lived in the court of a King of Kāmatāpur to the west of the Assam State. His *Prahlāda-caritra*, from the Sanskrit *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, already shows a finished Sanskritized style for Assamese. Hēma Saraswatī was followed in the same court of the King of Kāmatāpur by the poets Harihara Vipra and Kaviratna Saraswatī, who rendered into Assamese verse episodes from the *Mahābhārata* (early 14th century).

Kavirāja Mādhava Kandali (14th century) is the first great poet of Assamese. He flourished under a King of Kachar in Eastern Assam. His works consist of a translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and a narrative poem *Dēvajit* on Kṛiṣṇa as the Supreme Divinity. Mādhava Kandali wrote in a very simple form of Assamese, not too Sanskritized, and racy of the soil. He anticipated the later Vaishnava Renaissance in Assam in the 15th-16th centuries.

Among other poets who came into prominence in the 15th century were Durgāvara, who retold the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in songs (the *Gīti-Rāmāyaṇa*)—songs and the dance being the most popular forms of self-expression among the Assam people ; and the poets Pitāmbara and Mānakara, who composed a large number of songs on themes of love centering respectively round the stories of Uṣā and Aniruddha of the *Purāṇa* (the *Uṣā-Pariṇaya* of Pitāmbara), and the story of Bihulā and Lakshmīndhara (see *ante*, pp. 100, 160 : in Mānakara's *Bihulā-Lakhindhara*). Quite a mass of literature known as the *Mantras* or "Magical Charms", of unknown author-

ship, is found in Assamese, and all this may go back to the period before 1500. These *Mantras* contain magical formulae against snake-bite, against ghosts and demons, against various kinds of disease, and against thieves and evil-doers.

The greatest period of Early Assamese literature was ushered in with the *Bhakti* Movement inaugurated by the great Śaṅkara-dēva, Vaishnava religious reformer and poet (? 1449-1568). The movement he started was of course the provincial Assamese form of a pan-Indian *Bhakti* Movement which thoroughly changed the face of Hindu society. In Assam, Śāktism or Worship of the Mother-Goddess, the mantle of which fell on a great many pre-Aryan cults practised by the Kirātas, the Mongoloid peoples of Assam (the Tibeto-Burman-speaking Bōḍos and Nagas, the Austric-speaking Khasis, and the later Ahoms of Thai or Siamese-Chinese origin), appears to have been the dominant religion before the advent of Śaṅkara-dēva. It had bloody sacrifices as an essential part of its ritual, hecatombs of goats, sheep, buffaloes and pigeons and ducks, and occasional human sacrifices being the rule. The Great Mother was more dreaded than loved, and priest-craft and magic and Tantric practices distracted the people's faith. Śaṅkara-dēva, who belonged to the Kalitā or a high non-Brahman caste (like the Kāyasthas in other parts of North India), virtually changed the religious outlook of the Assam people. He preached absolute faith in a God of Love, Viṣṇu or his incarnation Kṛṣṇa, and his doctrine was known as the *Ēka-śaraṇa Dharma* or 'the Religion of Seeking Refuge in One'. Prayer and praise, apart from the simple Brahmanical worship with flowers and harmless offerings, were taught by him as the best form of devotional exercise. Śaṅkara-dēva's ideas spread over the whole of Assam : and for this new faith, its propagator started to create the necessary literature in the language of the people. His followers also joined him in this. Late in life, he received cordial support from the powerful Koch King of Western Assam and Northern Bengal, a prince of whose family took a daughter of Śaṅkara-dēva's house to wife. Śaṅkara-dēva's hymns and other works form the basis of evening prayer through song and reading in all the villages of Assam when the people gather in the *Nām-ghar* or 'House of Praise' to unite in communal worship through song and chant. Among the more important works which Śaṅkara-dēva composed were the following (he wrote some 27 works in all) :

(i) the last Canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* ; (ii) some portions of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* ; (iii) the *Kīrttana Ghōṣā*, probably his greatest work (this book gives in 30 poems comprising about 2398 verses some episodes from the stories of Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa and of their devotees : the poems are romance and parable and didactic literature as well as song all in one, and are greatly popular with the Assamese people ; (iv) *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, a narrative poem on an episode in the life of Kṛiṣṇa in a charming style, and this poem is also very popular, quotations from it passing current in the language like proverbs ; (v) the *Bhakti-pradīpa*, a devotional work, and (vi) *Nimi-navasiddha-saṁvāda*. He wrote also a number of dramas on themes from the *Purāṇas*, known as the *Aṅkiyā Nāṭ* (One-act Plays). These dramas show Maithili influence—the prose and verse portions are not in pure Assamese, but in a mixture of Maithili and Assamese, or rather in a corrupt Assamized Maithili, like the poetical Braja-buli dialect of Bengal. Like the miracle plays of mediaeval Christendom, these plays helped to popularize the stories of the *Purāṇas*, and they are performed even now in the villages. The best known of these are the *Rāma-vijaya*, the *Kāliya-damana*, the *Pārijāta-haraṇa*, the *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, and the *Patnī-prasāda*. Another new kind of poetry which Śaṅkara-dēva introduced into Assamese was the *Bara-gīt* (*Vara-gīta*), devotional poems, sometimes ecstatic in an abandon of faith, sometimes contemplative and reflective, at times exhortatory and seeking to create a distaste for the world with a love of God : these are also immensely popular, being frequently sung. The *Dēha-vicārar Gīt* or ‘Songs on the Transitoriness of the Body’ form another series of poems composed by Śaṅkara-dēva, corresponding to the *Dēha-tattwār Gīt* poems of Bengali, which, although not lofty in sentiment or poetry, seek to create among the masses the feeling of otherworldliness and devotion to God.

The next great poet of Early Assamese was Mādhava-dēva (1489-1596), a disciple of Śaṅkara-dēva. His literary output was more or less on the lines of his master. The following are his principal works : (i) the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*—a study of *Bhakti* in its different aspects, translated from the Sanskrit of Viṣṇu-purī ; (ii) *Nāma-ghōṣā*, or *Hāzārī-ghoṣā*, which ranks with Śaṅkara’s *Kīrttana-ghōṣā* in popularity. It is the devotional handbook or prayer-book of the followers of the *Ēka-Śaraṇa* sect, consisting of a large number of hymns of repentance and self-reproach, prayer and entreaty, self-instruction and abnegation of self, with chanting the names

and the praise of Kṛishṇa ; the work is sincere and profound in its religiosity, and it is most musical poetry ; (iii) his *Bara-gītas*—poems both of prayer and contrition, and poems depicting the life of Kṛishṇa in Vṛndāvana among the Gōpīs ; (iv) Nine *Aṅkiyā Nāṭs*, all dealing with incidents in Kṛishṇa's life as a child. His literary output came to some 14 works.

It should be noted that Assam Vaishnavism as preached by Śaṅkara-dēva had nothing to do with the love symbolism and erotic mysticism centering round the figures of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, which became so prominent a feature of the Gauḍīya or Bengal Vaishnavism and of the Vaishnavism of Gujarat (*puṣṭi-mārga*) and Rajasthan.

Rāma Saraswatī was perhaps the most versatile and copious writer of the movement. His patron was the ruler of the Koch empire of the 16th century, King Nara-nārāyaṇa. He started to render the *Mahābhārata* into the vernacular at the request of the King, and wrote with considerable elaboration. He could not complete the translation of more than four *parvans*, and these were the biggest (e.g. *Ādi*, *Vana*, and *Bhīṣma*). This work became very popular in Assam. He also rendered into Assamese a number of what are called *Vadha-Kāvyas* or Puranic Storics depicting the slaying of some demon or hero (about 4 of them). Rāma Saraswatī's lucidity of language makes him still a popular poet.

Other writers of the Vaishnava movement were Śrīdhara Kandalī, who, like some other poets, transformed folk-tales into religious poems ; Gōpāla-Candra Dwija, who rendered the story of Kṛishṇa as in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Hari-vamśa* into Assamese verse ; and Bhaṭṭa-dēva, who rendered the whole of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā* into Assamese prose, in a highly Sanskritized form, which has its own place in Assamese style. The Vaishnava poets made a very good aesthetic use of the various Assamese metres.

Prose is a remarkable product of Assamese literature. Herein the language was influenced by the Sino-Tibetan Ahom speech, which was brought by the conquering Ahoms from Burma who ruled first over parts of Assam and gradually over the almost entire state, from 1228 to 1824. The Ahoms had a system of writing chronicles in their own language, called *Buranjis*. A number of these Ahom *Buranjis* have been found, and one or two have been published in the original Ahom with English translation. Gradually the Ahoms

became Assamese-speakers, and they introduced the habit of *Burānji*-writing into the Assamese language from the middle of the 17th century. A number of these Assamese *Burānjis* are extant, and the most important among them have been published. They are in simple and direct language, and are full of information regarding political, social, economic, cultural and administrative side of Assamese life from early Ahom times down to the 19th century. The Assamese *Burānjis* form a unique thing in Assamese and Indian literature.

Among 18th century writers of Assam are Ananta Ācārya, court-poet of the Ahom King Śiva-Simha (1714-1744), who wrote in Assamese a version of the famous hymn to the mother Goddess, the *Ānanda-laharī*. The 18th century saw a sort of Śākta revival in Assam: we have versions of some of the *Purāṇas* and works like the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Caṇḍī* (by Rucināth Kandali, and also by Madhusūdan Miśra), and of the *Yōginī-tantra* by Barapātra Gōhain. There were also Śākta devotional *Vara-gītas*. But on the whole, Śākta literature is not at all so rich in Assamese as Vaishnava literature.

A number of biographical works on Vaishnava saints like Śaṅkara-dēva and Mādhava-dēva—*Carit-puthis* or 'Biography-books'—were written during the 18th century.

Kavirāja Cakravartī, court-poet of king Rudra Simha or Su-krung-pha (1696-1714), earlier made a translation of Jaya-dēva's *Gīta-gōvinda*. Other works of his were *Śaṁkhāsura Yuddha*, and *Śakuntalā-Kāvya*.

A mass of technical literature based on Sanskrit works was produced in the 18th century in Assam—on astrology, on medicine, on veterinary science (including a treatise on the elephants—the *Hasti-vidyā* preserved in a beautiful illustrated MS.), on mathematics, on music and on dancing. During this century, the Assamese language, as the court speech of the Ahom Kings, spread among some of the hill-peoples of the province.

The Burmese invasion (*Mānar Upadrav*) in Assam (1816-1826) brought terrible miseries to the Assamese people. After the first Burma War, the English annexed Assam as part of India, and the modern period of Assam history began. Assam was made a part of Bengal, and Bengali officials and clerks for some decades had the upper hand in Assam. Assamese was looked upon as a dialect of Bengali, and only Bengali was taught in Assamese

schools, to the exclusion of Assamese, upto the year 1873, when Assamese as the language of the people was restored to its rightful place in the schools and in the law-courts. Neglected by the State, and no longer patronized by courtly circles which had ceased to exist, particularly during the persecution of the Assamese nobility by the Burmese, Assamese literature somehow maintained its existence in the Vaishnava monasteries and temples, and in the villages,

The Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, Dr. William Carey and others, with the help of an Assamese *paṇḍit*, brought out a translation of the *New Testament* in 1817, and the *Old Testament* was completed in 1833. But the language of this version was full of Bengalisms, and had too many learned Sanskrit words to please Assamese readers. In the meanwhile, some American Baptist Missionaries, unable to go to China through Assam, stayed on in Assam for missionary work (1836), and Rev. N. Brown of this group brought out a new translation of the Bible in 1838. As at Serampore for Bengali, the Missionaries in Assam from Sibsagar, the old Ahom capital, did pioneer work for Assamese by writing a grammar and a dictionary of Assamese, by publishing Christian literature which helped to set up Assamese for modern requirements, and by starting a monthly magazine in Assamese—the *Aruṇodaya Saṁvād-Patra* (1846). They started schools to teach English, and text-books in Assamese followed in history, in elementary science and in grammar, besides general readers. Nathan Brown and Miles Bronson are names of Christian missionary supporters of the Assamese language, which are remembered with gratitude by the Assamese *intelligentsia*.

A new style, based on the spoken language of Central Assam, came into being. Ānanda-rām Dhekīāl Phukan (1829-1896) was the first great Assamese writer of the present age. Younger contemporaries of him, who served their mother-tongue during the period of its neglect, were Hēma-chandra Baruwā (1835-1896) and Guṇābhirām Baruwā (1837-1895). Hēma-chandra was a most versatile writer, who published short novels, school text-books, and a very good dictionary (*Hēma-Kōṣa*), as well as satirical dramas. He was a social reformer through his writings, and he was a careful stylist in Assamese. Guṇābhirām Baruwā brought out in 1885 a magazine, the *Asam-Bandhu*. He was something

of a rationalist, who had sympathy for the failings of others, and was moreover a courageous patriot.

Assamese young men would come to Calcutta for college education from the closing decades of the 19th century, and they were doubtless affected by the zeal which Bengalis displayed for their mother-tongue. English literature which they studied at school and college, and Bengali which they could not help knowing and reading—comparatively, quite a large mass of reading matter in Bengali was available to them, and besides, for school-work, Bengali cribs, 'key-books', and guides to English as well as Sanskrit texts were found indispensable—and the influence of these two languages made them eager to improve their own and to produce modern literature in it. A number of such Calcutta-educated young men brought out the literary magazine *Jōnāki* ('Moonlight') in 1889, a journal which had great influence in the building up of modern Assamese literature.

The younger writers wrote short poems and lyrics in a modern spirit, and Bhōlānāth Dās (1858-1929) sought to emulate Māikel (Michael) Madhusūdan Datta of Bengali by writing an epic in Assamese in blank verse : but his highly stiff style and Sanskritized language did not please the Assamese literary circles. Inspiration from folk-poetry was sought with better results for Assamese poetry.

Lakshmīnāth Bez-baruwā (1868-1931) was the greatest figure in Modern Assamese literature. He was a highly cultured man, educated in Calcutta, who had married into the family of Rabindranath Tagore, and he was intensely alive to the force and vigour of his mother-tongue and to the greatness of the literature and culture of his province. He was a dramatist, a poet, a short-story writer and a humorist all in one—and he was great in every line. With the poet Chandra Kumār Āgarwālā and with Hema Chandra Gōswāmī, he brought out the literary journal *Jōnāki*, as noted above, which helped to illumine and broaden the minds of the Assamese people and inaugurated a new age in Assamese literature. Lakshmīnāth's sketches of Assamese middle-class life and of the Assamese villager have so far remained inimitable. He has serious plays as well as farces, and one cannot say in which branch of literature he excels more than in others.

Other Assamese writers of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century are Hēma Chandra Gōswāmī

(1879-1928), educationist, historian, essayist and editor of old texts. He edited on behalf of the University of Calcutta three big volumes of *Typical Selections from Assamese Literature* (*Asamiyā Sāhityar Cāṇēki*), as part of the University of Calcutta programme to encourage the study of Assamese and the development of its literature by making it a subject for the M. A. Examination ; Rajanī-kānta Bar-dalai (1867-1939), influenced by Sir Walter Scott as well as by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, was an outstanding novelist, mostly of historical themes—but his first novel, *Miri-Jiyari* (1895) or 'the Miri Maid' is a love-idyl with the back-ground of the life of the Miri people by the bank of the Subansiri river, an idyl which ends in a tragedy ; Satyanāth Barā (1860-1925), essayist ; and his contemporary, Kamalā-kānta Bhaṭṭācārya (he was born in 1853), became a Brāhmo or reformed Hindu with a passionate zeal against the evils of orthodox religion which he looked at with the critical eyes of a reformer : as a reformer he fought against caste and untouchability, and advocated widow remarriage, and he was, besides, a powerful poet of patriotic sentiments ; Hitēśwar Bar-baruwā (1871-1939), poet, with three long narrative poems in blank verse, and some volumes of lyrics ; Chandra-dhar Baruwā, born 1884, poet ; Chandra-kumār Āgarwālā (1867-1938), a lyrical poet of great power, whose nationalism was also wedded to universal brother-hood ; Padmanāth Gōhāin Baruwā (1871-1946), prose writer ; Beṇudhar Rāj-Khowā (1872-1935), author of some comic and social dramas in a reformist spirit ; Raghunāth Chaudhāri (b. 1890), a poet with inspiration from nature, and one of the most popular in Assamese ; Ambikāgiri Rāy Chaudhāri (born 1885), a poet of Indian nationalism ; and Durgēśwar Śarmā, born 1885, whose writings are in a philosophical vein.

The writers of the present-day are quite numerous in Assamese, and mention can be made of the names of the most significant of them : Śarat Chandra Gōswāmī (1886-1844), short-story writer ; Daṇḍināth Kalitā, poet, novelist and satirist ; Jatīndranāth Duārā, a poet who has lived mostly in Calcutta, and who translated the *Rubaiyāt of Omar Khayyām* from Fitzgerald's English ; Ratna-kānta Bar-kākatī, lyric poet ; Nalinibālā Dēvi, poetess ; Mafizuddīn Ahmad, poet of religious mysticism ; and Ḍimbēśwar Nēōg, Śailadhar Rāj-khowā, Dēva-kānta Baruwā and Binanda Chandra Baruwā are other poets of distinction. Atul Chandra Hājārikā is a dramatist, who wrote on themes from the *Purāṇas* ;

Jyōti-prasād Āgarwālā is perhaps the most significant contributor to the Assamese drama ; and there are novelists of note like Rādhikā-Mōhan Gōswāmī, Muhammad Piyār, and Nanda-kānta Baruwā ; short-story-writers like Abdul Malik, Jōgēsh Dās, Kēśava Mahanta, Lakshmīdhar Śarmā, Binā Baruwā, Kṛishṇa Bhuyān, Maṇī Barā, Mānik Dās, Halirām Dēkā and Dhīrēndra-nāth Bhaṭṭācārya ; essayists and historical writers like Sūrya-Kumār Bhuyān, Sōnārām Chaudhārī, Bēṇudhar Śarmā and Bāṇī-Kānta kākati ; and drama-writers with a new outlook like Ravīn Baruwā and Sārādā Bar-dalai.

A great asset for Assamese is the intense love for the language and the culture behind it which its speakers, particularly among the educated classes, manifest. In education and culture, Assamese-speakers, along with the other groups of people in the polyglot State of Assam, are making an advance, as much as people of the other main languages of India. The University of Gauhati (Guwāhāṭī), founded in 1949, is a guarantee of a greater cultural advancement of the Assamese people. Historical and linguistic researches have made considerable progress in Assam, and conspicuous among Assam's historical investigators are Dr. Sūryya Kumār Bhuyān and Dr. Birinchi Kumār Baruwā ; and the late Dr. Bāṇī-kānta Kākati's *Assamese, its Formation and Development* (Gauhati, 1941), is the most scientific approach to the study of Assamese linguistics. Rājāmōhan Nāth, a Bengali, who was an Engineer in Assam service, is an Assamese writer of distinction, with critical editions of early Assamese texts and sympathetic interpretation of Assam's religious leaders to his credit.

What is required of the people of Assam is greater energy in business and industry—the good old days of a primitive agricultural economy are gone. The problems of Assam are those of the rest of India, and some of them are peculiar, owing largely to the multi-lingual character of Assam State, with not only the Assamese but also the Bengalis, the Khasis, the Garos, the Nagas and other hill-peoples ; and the solution of these problems on an all-India basis will also help Assam, and Assam's culture and literature.

ORIIA LITERATURE

Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, as sister-languages coming from the same Eastern Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa of about 1200 to 1500 years ago, have a very great resemblance with each other, and no wonder their literatures would also show the same family resemblance. Only during the 16th-17th centuries, Oriya fell tremendously under the spell of Sanskrit, and followed in the 17th-18th century in certain forms of literature quite new lines of development. Then Sanskrit rhetoric and the musical qualities (in rime and assonance and alliteration) of Sanskrit words which were admitted into language to more than saturation were employed as the be-all and end-all in literary composition. In some kinds of Oriya poetry, verbal jugglery or acrobatics have reached their highest point. The poets (and their readers or listeners, when all this would be explained to them, of course) took pride and pleasure in composing and listening to lines capable of being construed in various ways—and giving totally different meanings, sometimes the same verse could be taken in half-a-dozen or more senses ; and with certain modifications (e. g. taking away a supernumerary letter or syllable from each line), certain verses were capable of being chanted in different cantilenas. The variety of metres is another noteworthy fact. Then, the personality of Caitanya (who spent his last years at Puri) was a great force bringing closer the literatures of Orissa and Bengal, for the last four centuries and more ; and in the development of Modern Oriya Literature during the last 100 years, Bengalis settled in Orissa have taken a good part and they have also helped to bring about a community of thought and spirit between the two literatures. At the present-day, with a kind of narrow local or provincial patriotism operating in most of the language-areas in India, Bengal included, some Oriya writers seek to belittle or deplore the influence of Caitanya on Oriya life and literature. The new perspective is wrong in exalting the local spirit over everything, but the fact remains that there has been an unfettered and un-obstructed give-and-take among the various provincial forms of the one single basic Indian culture and way of thinking and way of living.

Oriya as a language has as its basis the same form of Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa which developed into West Bengali, just as North Bengali and Assamese are sister-dialects. There is an intermediate dialect between Oriya and Bengali spoken in Midnapore district, which Grierson described as "South-Western Bengali", the speakers of which all use Bengali as their literary language. Then there were certain influences in the formation of Oriya from the Kosala area through the Chattisgarhi form of Kosali, by way of the Mahākosala tract which has been in close contact with Western Orissa.

The oldest specimens of Oriya are found in the shape of place-names, in some inscriptions, three of them being dated 990, 1036 and 1249 A. D. The last is very important as we have in it a number of connected lines of Old Oriya. Some Oriya scholars, like some of those of Assam, regard the language of the *Caryā-padas* (see pp. 158 ff) to be in the oldest form of their language : the Maithilis also make a similar claim.

The history of the Oriya language and its literature can be divided into the following periods :

- (1) Old Oriya, to 1300 A. D.
- (2) Early Middle Oriya, 1300-1500 A. D.
- (3) Middle Oriya, the age of Jagannātha-Dāsa and his contemporaries and followers, 1500-1700.
- (4) Late Middle Oriya, 1700-1850.
- (5) Modern Oriya, after 1850.

(1) Oriya Literature, to 1500 A. D.

During the Old Oriya period, apart from the inscriptions mentioned above, we have the following works and writers. The *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, or the Palm-leaf Chronicles of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, the beginnings of which go back to the 12th century, show the early use of prose in compositions. The authenticity of even the oldest fragments of this work, however, has still to be established. In the 14th century, we have a poem by Vatsa-dāsa (Bachā-dāsa), the *Kalasa-Cautiṣā*, in 34 verses, the words in each verse beginning with a consonant letter as in the arrangement of the Oriya alphabet. This deals with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. A work in poetic prose, the *Rudra-sudhānidhi*, a romance with a religious (Yōga-Vēdānta-Tantra) purpose, was composed in the 14th century by Nārāyaṇananda Avadhūta

Svāmī. Another important writer of the 14th century is Sāraḷā-dāsa, the first great poet of Orissa. He wrote the *Caṇḍī-Purāṇa* and the *Viḷaṅka-Rāmāyaṇa*, both extolling the Goddess Durgā ; and he gave a brief version of the *Mahābhārata* in 700 verses, in which he omitted certain portions of the story and brought in a number of new stories and modifications. The language appears modern—but Oriya has not changed much in the course of the last 7 or 8 centuries. In the 14th century, we also find evidence of a sort of early renaissance of Vaishnava *Bhakti* in Oriya literature. Mārkaṇḍa-dāsa composed his *Mahābhāṣya* dealing with the Rāma story, and the *Kēśava-Kōilī*, a poem in 34 verses, describing the grief of Yaśōdā, Krishna's foster-mother, at the latter's departure from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā. This poem is got by heart by most Oriya people to the present day.

Arjuna-dāsa (early 15th century) wrote his *Rāma-bibhā* or 'the Marriage of Rāma', the first long poem in Oriya. It is really a collection of lyrics on the sentiment of love, with some comic interludes. Other poets of the 15th century were Nilāmbara Dāsa (he translated the *Jaimini Mahābhārata* and the *Padma-Purāṇa*), Mahādēva Dāsa, Gōvinda Bhañja and Dāmōdara Dāsa.

(2) Oriya Literature, 1500-1700

The Jagannātha Dāsa Period (16th-17th centuries) begins with the advent of Caitanya from Bengal into Orissa for the first time in 1509. The King of Orissa (Orissa was at that time a great empire, extending from the frontiers of Bengal in the North to the Tamil country in the South and the Vijayanagara and the Bahmani empires in the West), Pratāpa-rudra Dēva, accepted Caitanya as his spiritual teacher, and a period of Vaishnava revival under the influence of Caitanya brought in a new development of Oriya literature. In Orissa, Caitanya came to have a number of intimate disciples and friends—Rājā Rāmānanda Rāya, who followed pure *Bhakti* ; and his five disciples, who followed *Bhakti* mixed with *Jñāna*, whose names were Baḷarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Yaśōvanta, Ananta and Acyutānanda. These writers were, most of them, already engaged in their literary labours before they met Caitanya. Baḷarāma Dāsa made a rendering in Oriya verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 1500 A.D.) with matter incorporated from various *Purāṇa* sources, which is universally popular. He wrote

20 other books, like versions of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Vedānta-sāra* and books like the *Gupta-vārtā*, *Bhāva-samudra* ('the Ocean of Emotion') and the *Brahmāṇḍa-bhūgōḷa* ('Geography of the Universe'). Jagannātha Dāsa was a close friend of Caitanya, who gave to the former the sobriquet of *Ati-baḍa* or 'the supremely Great,' because of his saintly character. He translated the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, which is perhaps the most popular book in Oriya, its popularity with the masses being like that of the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of Tulasī-dāsa in Northern India. It is read every evening in all Orissa villages in the *Bhāgavata-ghara* or public prayer-house for reading the *Bhāgavata* and singing hymns and prayers. Jagannātha Dāsa introduced edifying stories from other sources into his *Bhāgavata*, and used a simple and easily read metre of 9 syllables for his great work. He has largely been responsible through this work for strengthening the moral qualities of the Oriya people ; and eagerness to be able to read the *Bhāgavata* has helped the cause of literacy in many parts of Orissa. Jagannātha Dāsa composed a large number of other works, in both Oriya and Sanskrit. Yaśōvanta, Ananta Dāsa and Acyutānanda Dāsa were similarly authors of a large number of religious works in Oriya, and it is not necessary to enumerate them. The last is credited with the composition of as many as 1000 works.

The writers who belonged to this period, 1500-1700, were a legion. They composed works by the score and by the hundred, including translations, adaptations and imitations of Sanskrit, and made Oriya saturated with the spirit of Sanskrit. Most of the religious classics in Sanskrit were made accessible in Oriya, and there were romances, as well as a good deal of technical literature. It will take a lot of space to enumerate the names of even the more important of the writers of this period and their works, but a few outstanding works and their authors may be mentioned : e. g. the *Uṣābhilāṣa* of Śiśu Śaṅkara-Dāsa, the *Rahasya-mañjarī* of Dēva-durlabha Dāsa, and the *Rukmiṇī-bibhā* of Kārttika Dāsa. A new type, which may be called novels in verse, was started from the beginning of the 17th century, when Ramacandra Paṭṭaṅyaka wrote his *Hārāvalī*, in which the hero is an ordinary householder's son and the heroine the daughter of a farmer. Prātapa Rāya's *Śaśisēnā* is based on a well-known Oriya folk-tale. Other poets, like Madhusūdana, Bhīma Dhīvara, Sadāśiva and Śiśu Īśvara-dāsa composed *Kāvyas* or long poems on themes from the *Purāṇas*, and

Śrīdhara-dāsa, Viṣṇu-dāsa, Raghunātha Hari-Chandana, Trivikrama Bhañja and the prolific writer Dhanañjaya Bhañja composed love-romances on non-Puranic themes. Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Gīta-gōvinda* is an excellent Oriya adaptation of the Sanskrit work, keeping intact the music of the Sanskrit original. The *Rāma-rasāmṛta-sindhu* of Kāhānu Dāsa in 108 cantos of 108 verses each is a great *kāvya* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* story.

The language of all the poets of this period, 1500-1700, is simple and straight-forward Oriya, without verbal tricks which became so great a characteristic of Oriya poetry in the 18th century. Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa (17th century), the author of the *Rasa-kallōḷa* as well as dozens of other works, was a great scholar, a polymath in all Sanskrit sciences, who was one of the greatest poets of Oriya. He was a follower of the *Jñāna-bhakti* school of Vaishnavism. His *Rasa-kallōḷa* deals with the loves of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and it is a considerable work in which every line begins with the letter *k*. Other popular works written by him are the *Jagamōhana-Chanda* and the *Ārta-trāṇa-Cautiśā*, besides his treatises on various other subjects. Bhūpati Paṇḍita and Lōkanātha Vidyādhara were other distinguished poets, of whom the former wrote a great work the *Prēma-pañcāmṛta* on the story of Kṛishṇa and the Vaishnava doctrine of faith-cum-knowledge, and the latter was marked for the melliflousness of his language, comparable in this to Jayadēva himself.

(3) Oriya Literature, 1700-1850

Some of the above poets started a new orientatation in Oriya poetry—towards verbal jugglery, towards unabashed eroticism and even covert or open obscenity, and towards a highly sophisticated, artificial style. Orissa remained an independent Hindu state to 1565, and the late Sanskrit traditions in literature, without the introduction of new literary genres, new view-points and new philosophies, were worked to death in Orissa by scholars who knew nothing more than improving upon what they received traditionally. The greatest exponent of this artificial style was Upēndra Bhañja, a man of unquestioned talent and a great poet (1670-1720). From 1700, the whole of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries were dominated by his influence. He wrote some 42 works, some of which are still in MS. (these MS. copies have had a wide circulation), in which all the literary genres of

Orissa have been treated. The *tours-de-force* of the Sanskrit *Citra-kāvyas*, poems with verbal plays, acrostics, combinations of different sounds etc. find their unheard of fulfilment in Upēndra Bhañja's works. Love-romances, poems based on the Sanskrit epics and the *Purāṇas*, lyrics, compositions in various metres, works on rhetoric, lexicons—all of these feature in Upēndra Bhañja's literary output. About 10 great romances are the most esteemed among his larger compositions. In the *Vaidehīśa-vilāsa*, on the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, every word beginning a line and a half-line has *ba* (or *va*) as its first consonant ; in the *Subhadrā-Parīṇaya*, similarly *sa* has been employed, and in the *Kalā-kautuka*, every line begins and ends in the syllable *ka*. In the *Avanī-rasa-taraṅga*, words with simple vowels only have been used. A section in the *Kōṭi-brahmāṇḍa-sundarī* can be made to give descriptions of three seasons, the Rains, Winter and Summer, according as it is read in its entirety, or with one or two syllables of each line omitted.

The scholastic mind of Orissa scholars was taken by storm by Upēndra Bhañja, and others came in numbers to imitate him, but none could supercede him. There was singular poverty of new subjects, and rarely a freshness of outlook. The *Kṛishṇa* story was treated by almost every poet, as well as popular themes from the *Purāṇas*, and love-romances without any novelty. Even an authority on Oriya language and literature like Professor Ārta-vallabha Mahānti is quite content just to list the names of these poets of the 18th-19th centuries with mention of some of their important works—it is a veritable *embarass de richesse* in a wild tropical jungle of poetical composition within a few limited types. Of the three score poets mentioned by him, the following are singled out as exceptionally meritorious in the list of talented men : Janārdana Kavisūrya, Chakrapāṇi Paṭṭanāyaka, Kṛpāsindhu Bhikhāri Dāsa, Viśvanātha Khuṇṭiā, Bhakta-charaṇa Dāsa, Abhimanya Sāmanta Simharā, Yadumaṇi Mahāpātra, and Vrajanātha Baḍajēnā. The last composed a spirited ballad (*Samara-taraṅga*) describing the fight between the Oriya forces under the Rāja of Dheṅkāṇal and the Marathas when the latter invaded Orissa, and there is thus the novelty of subject. Māguṇi Dāsa composed *Kāñci-Kāvṛī*, a historico-romantic poem giving an account of King Puruṣōttama-dēva and Princess Padmāvati, one of the most beautiful romantic tales of mediaeval

India which has been very well retold in Bengali by Raṅgalā Vandyōpādhyāya (1879 ; see p. 181).

Special mention should be made of Bhīma-Bhōi—a Kandh born blind, who became a follower of the Mahimā sect and wrote in simple language some works on the Supreme Spirit in a monistic vein ; and Arakshita Dāsa, who was the heir to an Orissa state but became a recluse and spent his life preaching the pure monotheism of the Vēdānta, and his work on Yogic exercises (the *Śarīra-bhēda*) is very popular.

Some family chronicles in prose, and a mass of literature relating to the popular fasts, feasts and festivals, forming literature of a folk type, should also be mentioned in describing the course of Oriya literature to 1850, when English education (and more intimate cultural and other kind of contacts with Bengal) brought in the Modern Epoch in Oriya literature.

The English acquired Orissa from the Marathas in 1803, but the Oriya people remained conservative, and quite happy in their old way of life. As in Assam, the excessive predominance of Bengali officials and clerks brought about a neglect of Oriya, and Bengali was generally employed in teaching in schools, as the teachers were mainly Bengalis and books were available in Bengali only. But Bengalis settled in Orissa also helped the Oriya people to develop their language and to prepare books for schools upto the Entrance (or Matriculation) stage, from the sixties onwards. The course of literature in Oriya had by this time worn itself out in the old grooves, and a change was necessary.

Already from Serampore the translation of the Bible was taken in hand and published in parts, from 1811-1819. The Christian missionaries cast the first Oriya types in 1836. The Oriya script is the immediate sister of Bengali-Assamese and Maithili, but one style of Oriya writing (different from the *Chaṭā* or current hand) with its very large top-loops as inconvenient and unmeaning flourishes, making the script look so very different from Bengali and Nagari, was unfortunately adopted for the printed types. An English school was first started at Puri in 1835, but there was not much progress in English education among the Oriya people for some time.

Some local Bengalis (among whom was the Bengali poet

Raṅgalāl Banerji, see p. 181) and the Christian (Baptist) Missionaries backed up the case of Oriya. As in the case of Bengali, Assamese, Hindi and the rest, through text-books and journals and translations of European works, the language developed a good prose style. The Oriya Journal *Utkaḷa-Dīpikā* (1866), edited for 40 years by Rai Bahadur Gaurī Śaṅkar Rāy, formed a landmark in Modern Oriya. Other journals came into the field, to help to bring the modern outlook to the Oriya people. Three great poets and *prosateurs* arose, who changed the tone of the literature and introduced the modern spirit. They were :

(1) Rai Bahadur Rādhānātha Rāy (1849-1908) : he was a Bengali whose people had settled in Orissa and had made the language their own, in addition to Bengali. He was an educationist who played his part in preparing text-books and translations into Oriya. His verse romances, *Kēdāra-Gaurī*, *Candrabhāgā*, *Nandikēśvarī*, *Yayāti-Kēśarī*, *Uṣā* and *Pārvatī* are entirely in the European style, and the stories are sometimes from European literature, but the atmosphere he evoked is most naturally and most beautifully Oriya. His *Cilikā* is a very fine piece of descriptive nature-poetry on the Chilka lake in Orissa. *Veṇīsaṁhāra* is another poem, ancient Indian in theme, but modern and European in execution. He composed in his mature age an epic in blank verse, in the style of the Bengali poet Māikel Madhusūdan Datta's *Mēghanāda-Vadha Kāvya* (see p. 179-180), the *Mahāyātrā* (incomplete, in 9 cantos), describing the story of the Pāṇḍavas making their ascent to Indra's paradise, an episode at the end of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. This is a great work in Modern Oriya, and is a successful example of the naturalization of the blank-verse in the language, apart from the highly poetical character of the work. He was also one of the first Oriya story-writers in prose.

(2) Madhusūdana Rāo (1853-1912) : he was the scion of a Maharashtrian family settled in Orissa, who also was an educationist. He was a person deeply inspired by a sense of the presence of God, and his poetry has always that mystic and devotional feel which gives a permanent quality to it. He wrote in a very forceful prose a number of stories and essays, and his poetic genius was on the side of the lyric. He was a skillful metrist, and made many successful experiments in verse-forms. *Vasanta-gāthā*, a sonnet-sequence, and

Kusumāñjali, both embody some of the highest flights of his imagination in the realms of Truth, and World, and Time. *Ṛṣi-citra*, an imaginative picture of the life of a Vedic *rishi* or sage, in a most elevated manner, was highly eulogized in an anonymous article in a Bengali journal, about 1897, which is believed to have been Rabindranāth Tagore's. Similarly in a high key is his *Himācalē Udaya-darśana* ("Viewing the Sun-rise in the Himalayas"), another beautiful poem. His sense of patriotism has been beautifully and forcefully expressed in his *Utkaḷa-gāthā*, a volume of lyrics. Madhusūdana Rāo wanted to extend the horizon of Oriya poetry and song, in their subject matter, as well as in their prosody and music.

(3) Phakiramōhana Sēnāpati (1843-1918) was the third among the Great Trio of Modern Oriya literature. All of them were, it is pleasant to record, life-long friends. It has been said what of the three, Rādhānātha represents *Sundara* or the Beautiful, Madhusūdana *Śiva* or the Good, and Phakiramōhana *Satya* or the True (*Satya*, *Śiva* and *Sundara* being, thinking in the Upanishadic way, the three aspects of the Supreme Sririt). Phakiramōhana's career was largely as an administrator in a number of Orissa feudatory states; and this gave him opportunity of studying men and manners, which made him the first and one of the greatest novelists of Orissa. He wrote some school-books also. His poetical works include verse translations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (this he started specially for his wife), the *Mahābhārata*, the *Ġītā*, the *Chāndōgya Upaniṣad* and the *Hari-vamśa*; a description of Orissa, *Utkaḷa-bhramaṇa* (1892); *Puṣṭamālā*, short poems; *Upahāra*, 35 poems in memory of his wife; *Avasara-vāsarē*, a book of poems; and *Bauddhāvatāra Kāvya* (1909), on the life of the Buddha, in 19 cantos. He wrote three novels, of which the first, published originally serially and then in book-form in 1901, the *Cha-māṇa Āṭha-guṇṭhā* ('Six *māns* and Eight *guṇṭhās* of Land') is a powerful story of village life in Orissa—how a tyrannical and unscrupulous landlord seized the land of a poor cultivator and brought about his destruction, and how he himself paid the penalty of his sin. The language is racy and colloquial Oriya, and from the truth of its characters and the innate tragic quality of the work, it has become a classic in the language. His *Lachamā* is a historical novel, and his *Prāyaścitha* is a social novel of presentday middle-class life in Orissa; and his *Ātma-jivana-*

carita or Autobiography is also to be noted among his great works.

About the same time, the modern drama in Oriya came into being in the works of Rāma-Śaṅkara Rāy (1860-1920 ?). There were several types of primitive drama in Oriya, and the farce and dance-drama (a sort of 'music hall' drama) were also known. But the regular drama, as the Oriya counterpart of the Sanskrit, Bengali, and English drama, is a modern production. Rāma-Śaṅkara wrote 12 dramas, beginning with the *Kāñci-Kāvēri* (1880), which were historical, religious and social, and farcial. There were other dramatists contemporaneous with and succeeding Rāma-Śaṅkara, and we have in Oriya, Jagamōhana Lālā (whose first work was published in 1877), Bhikhārī-charaṇa Paṭṭanāyaka, Rājā Padmanābha Nārāyaṇa Dēva of Parlakimedi State (1872-1904) who wrote in collaboration with Śyāma-sundara Rāja-guru, his teacher ; Rādhāmōhana Rājendra Dēva, Zemindar of Chitkiti, Gōvinda Ratha, Kamapala Miśra (1875-1927) ; and now we have Aświni-Kumāra Ghōsh (author of the *Kōṇārka*, 1927), Gōdāvarīśa Miśra (a great political and social leader of Orissa ; his *Puruṣōttamadēva* appeared in 1918, giving the story of King Purushottamadeva and Princess Padmāvatī, as in the romantic poem the *Kāñci-Kāvēri*), Chandra-Śekhara Pāṇī, and Kālī-charaṇa Paṭṭanāyaka.

During the lull between the two World Wars, following the movement for a rationalistic and non-sentimental as opposed to the unreasoning and orthodox approach to life and literature, which was inaugurated in Bengal during the second decade of this century by Pramatha Chaudhuri (who started the journal *Sabuj Patra* : see p. 182), a similar progressive and intellectual movement came into being in Oriya literature also. Rabindranath Tagore also exerted a tremendous influence on this group, which called itself *Sabuja* or 'the Green Group', and which included, among others, writers like Kālindī Charaṇa Pāṇigrāhī, Śarat Chandra Mukherji, Baikunṭha-nātha Paṭṭanāyaka, Harihara Mahānti, and Hariśchandra Baḍāḷa ; and Viśvanātha Kara, editor of the journal *Utkala Sāhitya*, gave this group his great support. Annada-Śaṅkar Rāy (see above, p. 184), one of the foremost writers of Bengali at the present day, was a member of this group, and as such he contributed articles and poems and translations in Oriya which won high approbation—he was a real link between Oriya and

Bengali, and Oriya writers deplore that he is now concentrating on Bengali and not writing in Oriya any more.

Of the present-day writers of Orissa, we can enumerate the following : Nanda-kiśōra Bal, whose *Palli-citra*, in 8 cantos, gives a very beautiful picture of Oriya village life ; Gaṅgādhara Meherā, who wrote under the inspiration of Rādhānātha Rāy ; Chintāmaṇi Mahānti ; Kuntaḷa-Kumārī Sabat Utkaḷa-bhārati, a lyric poetess of great distinction ; Baikunṭha-nātha Paṭṭanāyaka, and Professor Nārāyaṇa-mōhana Dē (the last writer has been influenced by English poetry) ; besides Nīḷadri Dāsa. Gōpabandhu Dāsa (1877-1928 : one of the makers of modern Orissa in the domains of educational and political advancement and social service), Nīḷkaṇṭha Dāsa, and Gōḍāvarīśa Miśra formed a trio who founded a school at Satyavādī near Puri which formed the first centre of their activities ; and their writings, mostly in the form of essays, evoked the sentiments of patriotism and a desire to serve the people in the minds of the Oriya-reading public. We have to mention Ananta Paṭṭanāyaka, and Bichhanda Paṭṭanāyaka, who are poets, in addition to others ; and the most esteemed novelists are Umēśa Sarakāra, Divyasimha Pāṇigrāhī, Gōpāḷa Praharāja (humorist and satirist, and compiler of the great Oriya lexicon the *Pūrṇacandra Oḍiā-bhāṣā-kōṣa* : died in 1950), and Kālindī-Charaṇa Pāṇigrāhī, a prose-writer and a realistic novelist of the first rank, whose greatest creation is his novel *Māṭira Manisa* ('the Man of Earth') giving a very true and sympathetic picture of Oriya life : he is also a poet of eminence.

Śachī-Kānta Rauta-Rāy is the great innovator of the ultra-modern note in present-day Oriya poetry. The modern approach and modern technique were taken up by other writers like Gōḍāvarīśa Mahāpātra (a nationalist poet and story-writer), Dr. Māyādhara Mānasimha (a poet, primarily of love, and a good critic), and Ananta Paṭṭanāyaka and Manōmōhana Miśra who are leftist "poets of the people", besides Nityānanda Mahāpātra and Kuñjabihārī Dāsa, both poets. Apart from Gōḍāvarīśa Mahāpātra, other story-writers are Kānhu-charaṇa Mahānti, Upēndra Kiśōra Dāsa and Gōvinda Chandra Tripāṭhi, besides Rāja-kiśōra Rāya, Rāja-kiśōra Paṭṭanāyaka, Surēndranātha Mahānti, Kamala-kānta Dāsa, Udayanātha Shadāngī, and Kānhu-charaṇa's younger brother Gōpīnātha.

The best *prosateurs* are Madhusūdana Dāsa, Viśvanātha Kara, Vāsudēva Mahāpātra, Ratnākara Pati, Śaśibhūṣaṇa Rāya, Vraja-Vihārī Mahānti, Vipina-Vihārī Rāya, Mṛtyuñjaya Ratha, Chintāmani

Āchārya (former Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University) and Professor Ārtavallabha Mahānti, distinguished as an editor of early Oriya texts. Prabhāsa Chandra Satpati is known for his translations into Oriya of some foreign classics, apart from Udayanatha Shaḍangī, Sunanda Kara, Nārāyaṇa Chandra Mahānti and Surēndranātha Dwivedi, and Gōḍāvarīśa Miśra of the earlier generation. Tāriṇī-Charaṇa Ratha and Gōpīnātha Nanda, Professor Girijā-Śaṅkara Rāy, Paṇḍit Vināyaka Miśra, Paṇḍit Nīlakantha Dāsa, Professor Gaurī-Kumāra Brahma, Bichhanda Charaṇa Paṭṭanāyaka, Paramānanda Āchārya, Kēdāra-nātha Mahāpātra, Krupāsindhu Miśra, Sarvanārāyaṇa Dāsa, Jagabandhu Siṁha, Krushna-Chandra Pānigrāhī, Pyārīmōhana Āchārya, Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru and Harē-Krushna Mahatāb, are critics and essayists and historians. Dr. Harē-Krushna Mahatāb, formerly Governor of Bombay State and Chief Minister of Orissa, has a place of special eminence in Oriya life and in Oriya literature as a political leader and as a thought-leader, writer and organizer. Apart from history, he essayed also poetry and fiction.

Oriya literature on the whole is flowing as a quiet stream, reflecting the limpjd flow of Oriya life which is not overmuch disturbed by events of an earth-shaking type which have taken place in some of the other States of India. It reflects the character of an industrious and peace-loving and highly artistic people who have made in the past notable contributions to Indian civilization in art and literature (Orissa architecture and sculpture of the past are among the glories of India), and in building up great empires on more than one occasion, and extending the scope of Indian commerce and civilization in South-eastern Asia, and who can and are taking their full share of constructive work in a Free India.

MARATHI LITERATURE

The history of the Marathi language goes back to about 1000 A. D., but the earliest writers whose works are extant in more or less authentic form belong to the second half of the 13th century. Marathi is a Prakritic speech standing rather by itself ; and the connected Konkani dialects show some special features of agreement with the North Indian Aryan speeches.

From its present-day northern areas in Berar and the northern Maratha country, the Marathi language appears to have spread east and south by supplanting Kol speeches (like the Bhil dialects and Korku) and Dravidian (the Gond dialects, Telugu and Kannada). Prakrit was used in Mahārāshṭra for literature side by side with Sanskrit 1500 years ago : and we have what may be called Māhārāṣṭrī Apabhraṁśa, the latest phase of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan of Mahārāshṭra. After the language had taken shape, it was put to both official and literary use under the Yādava (Jādhawa) Kings of Maharashtra, beginning with Bhillama, who had their capital at Devagiri later named Daulatabad (1189-1294). The special modification of the Indian alphabet for Marathi, the Mōḍī (which was employed for Marathi right down to the 18th century, after which the Nagari, as used for Sanskrit and locally known to Maharashtrians as the *Bālabōdha* script, was adopted in its place) took place during this period. Short Marathi inscriptions have been found, belonging to the 12th and 13th centuries. And then in the 13th century, we have a sudden *floraison* of literature in Marathi, which is certainly indicative of an earlier cultivation of the language for some centuries before.

The history of Marathi Literature, as in the case of the literatures in its sister-speeches, can be divided into three periods :

- (1) Old Marathi Period, to 1350 A.D. ;
- (2) Middle Marathi Period, 1350-1800 A. D., in three sections : (a) the Age of Transition, during which took place the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule, 1350-1550 ; (b) the period of Muslim rule—the Age of the Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Berar Sultans, the Mogul Invasion and the Maratha Revival with the foundations of an Independent Hindu Kingdom by Sivaji, 1550-1700 ; (c) the Peshwa Period, 1700-1800 ; and
- (3) New or Modern Marathi, after 1800.

(I) Old Marathi Period : to 1350

The literature of this period is represented by religious compositions, philosophical as well as devotional, by teachers belonging to two Brahmanical sects which had their rise in the Maratha country in the 13th century. One of these was the *Mahānubhāva* Sect (later known also as *Mānbhāv*, in a contracted form), and the other the *Vārākari* Panth, which later became the chief means of expression of the *Bhakti* doctrine in Maharashtra. The second is thus the more important. It started as an offshoot of the *Jñāna* school of the *Nātha-pantha* of Gōrakha-nātha (of North India : see before, pp. 115, 157, 158), with its *Yōga* practices and its Saiva-Vēdānta philosophy, and after coming to Maharashtra it joined forces with the local Vēdānta School which favoured the worship of God as Viṣṇu in his form of Viṭṭhala at the shrine in Paṇḍharpur, and became a school of Vedantic *Bhakti* with the figures of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa as personal deities through which the devotees approached the Godhead. Paṇḍharpur became the great centre of this school, and from the word *vārī*, meaning 'the annual pilgrimage (to Paṇḍharpur), which was enjoined on its followers and which became very popular, the sect got the name of *Vārākari*. Already a number of great religious teachers had become associated with this Vedantic *Bhakti* school by 1290 A.D.

The *Mahānubhāva* school was founded in Maharashtra by Harapāla-dēva alias Chakradhara, originally a Brahman from Gujarat, who had left high estate out of devotion to God and had come to Berar, and he became the disciple of a saint called Gōvinda Prabhu. Chakradhara used the Marathi language in spreading his ideas, from 1263-1271. He inculcated devotion to the Deity in the forms of the hero Kṛṣṇa and the mythical sage and teacher Dattātrēya. Chakradhara also abjured the use of images. The literature composed by the early *Mahānubhāva* teachers are the oldest compositions extant in Marathi, of the 13th-14th centuries. But it is not very clear why the sect became unpopular in the country ; and after the Muslim conquest of Maharashtra, the members of the *Mahānubhāva* sect began to use a cipher script for their books and records which effectively buried them from circulation and public knowledge. It is believed that because of their professed abjuring of images they were given

special privileges and cōcessions like freedom from taxes by the new Muhammadan rulers of Maharashtra ; and this, combined with spiritual decay in their leaders, brought them into disrepute and made their older literature pass away into oblivion. Recently, through the exertions of the scholars Rājawāde, Bhāve and Chandōrkar, the old *Mahānubhāva* literature has been to some extent resuscitated, and we are now in possession of a number of books, which undoubtedly show later modifications, but nevertheless substantially represent works of the 13th-14th centuries.

These *Mahānubhāva* compositions are the following, to mention the oldest and most important works : (i) *Ācārya-sūtra* and (ii) *Siddhānta-sūtra-pāṭha*, giving the sayings and teachings of Chakradhara collected by his disciple Mahīndra Bhaṭṭa, and (iii) *Līlā-carita*, a life of Chakradhara by Mahīndra. Bhāskarāchārya, another disciple of Chakradhara, wrote his (iv) *Śiśupāla-vadha*, a narrative poem of a *Mahābhārata* episode, which formed the first important truly literary work of Marathi.

Outside of these earlier writers of the *Mahānubhāva* Sect, we have the other, the Vēdānta school represented by Mukunda-rāja and Jñānēśvara. Mukunda-rāja, according to tradition, was older than the latter, and he is credited with two works, the *Vivēka-sindhu* and the *Paramāmṛta*, treating of Śaṅkarācārya's Vēdānta. Owing to both difficulty of subject and stylistic defects, these books never became popular.

Jñānēśvara is held in universal esteem as the first great writer of Marathi, whose famous work in 9000 *ōvī* stanzas, the *Jñānēśvarī* (as it is popularly called—its original name being *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*), a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, was completed in 1290. Jñānēśvara was a religious man, a *Sannyāsi* and a saint, who was also a prodigy of learning. His father, who was named Viṭṭhala Panta, was a Brahman who had a deeply religious temperament, and who gave up the world and his wife Rukmiṇī (whom he had persuaded to permit him to enter the religious life) and retired to Banaras as a monk. But shortly after, he was asked by his master to return to the householder's life, and to live with his wife and raise a family. Viṭṭhala Panta and Rukmiṇī had three sons and one daughter, all of whom became religious devotees. Jñānēśvara was the second of the three brothers. The family was looked down

upon as outcaste, as Viṭṭhala Panta had abjured his monkhood and returned to worldly life. But the learning and piety of Jñānēśvara and his brothers restored them to the esteem and respect of the Brahmans. Jñānēśvara lived only for 22 years, and his brothers and sister also all died when quite young. He had visited Banaras, where it would appear his great work was completed : in North India, the brothers appear to have come in touch with teachers of the *Nātha-pantha* school of Gōrakha-nātha—the *Jñānēśvari* mentions that Nivṛttinātha, the elder brother of Jñānēśvara, who was born in 1273, received initiation from Gainī-nātha or Gōyaṇī-nātha, who was an immediate disciple of Gōrakha-nātha himself. Jñānēśvara also wrote a purely philosophical treatise named *Amṛtānubhava*, which is a difficult work though written in Marathi, and he composed a number of devotional songs and prayers which are popular to the present day. Through the *Vārākari* sect, his popularity as a writer has been maintained, and he has his message as an expounder of the *Gītā* philosophy to the present day—the *Jñānēśvari* has been translated into English, into Hindi, and into Bengali. The vulgate text of this work was redacted and to some extent modernized by Ēkanātha during the 16th century.

A younger contemporary of Jñānadēva was Nāmadēva (died 1350), a man of the tailor caste. Jñānadēva's younger brother Sōpānadēva had a disciple Visōbā Khēcara, a grocer by profession, and Nāma-dēva received his religious initiation from Visōbā. Paṇḍharpur had by this time become a great centre of the earlier *Bhakti* cult, and Jñānēśvara's teachings of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* were popularized by a number of non-Brahman teachers using the language of the people, among whom Nāmadēva was the most prominent. During his long life Nāmadēva visited Paṇḍharpur frequently and wandered over the country singing his own compositions, once visiting Northern India itself. The devotional songs of Nāmadēva have all along remained popular, and two of them have found a place in the Sikh *Ādi-grantha*—in Northern India he is also regarded as a saint of pan-Indian significance.

During this Old Marathi period, which may be said to terminate with the death of Nāmadēva, two distinct literary forms became well-established in Marathi : one was the *ōvī* metre, which was a sort of rhythmic prose, the sentence being divided into short

lines of about 10 syllables each, followed by a half-line. and which was employed in narrative poems ; and the other was the *abhaṅga* metre, which was used for lyric compositions, particularly devotional songs.

Among other writers of this Old Marathi period, all of humble rank, mention may be made of Janā-Bāī, a maid-servant in Nāmadēva's family ; Visōbā Khēcara, Nāmadēva's master ; Gōrabā, who was a potter by caste ; Sāvanta, a gardener ; and Jōgī Paramānanda, an oilman ; as well as Mukta Bāī, sister of Nāmadēva, whose religious poems (*tati-cē abhaṅga*) are very famous and are immensely liked by the people.

(2) Middle Marathi, 1350-1800

(a) The Period of Transition, 1350-1550

These two centuries are sometimes described as forming the 'dark period' of Marathi literature. After the first onslaught of Alāuddīn Khiljī on the Maratha Country in 1294, fight with the Muhammadans from Northern India and gradual establishment of Muslim rule continued. The country was suffering from war and famine, and steady literary progress was not possible. The Mahānubhāva sect, which had previously become unpopular through some concessions granted to it by the new Muslim rulers of Maharashtra, gradually recovered some of its old prestige, as all Hindu sects ultimately suffered from Muslim apathy and hostility, and a rapprochement gradually took place. The honour paid to the mythical sage Dattātrēya by the Mahānubhāva sect spread also to the followers of the Vārākārī school. Among teachers and writers of this Age of Transition were Narasimha-sarasvatī and Janārdana Swāmī, the master of Ēkanātha, both of the Vārākārī sect. Poems of a devotional nature ascribed to them are current. A disciple of Narasimha wrote in verse the history of the sage-god Dattātrēya known as *Guru-carita*, and this work is held in esteem by both Vārākārīs and Mahānubhāvas.

(b) The Second Middle Marathi Period : the Period of Muslim Rule and Maratha Revival, 1550-1700:

Ēkanātha Swāmī (1548-1599), the third great teacher of Maharashtra after Jñānēśvara and Nāmadēva, dominated the earlier part of this age, and he is still a force in Maharashtra.

life and literature, like Tukārāma of the 17th century. Ēkanātha was a saint and a reformer, greatly influenced by Jñānēśvara's writings which he edited, and he studied under Janārdana Swāmī at Dēvagiri (Daulatābād). It was his master who inspired him to take up writing poetry. His first work was a short one, the *Catuṣṣlōka-Bhāgavata*. Then he composed his version of the 11th section of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* known as the *Ēkanāthi Bhāgavata*, which is held in highest respect and read by thousands of people every day. It is, after the *Jñānēśvarī*, the most famous book in early Marathi. The 16th century Brahmanical Renaissance found in Ēkanātha its great exponent. After his *Bhāgavata*, he composed a *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa*; each of these two works is in 20,000 *ōvī* verses. *Rukmiṇī-svayaṃvara* is another poem on Kṛishṇa and his marriage with Rukmiṇī. *Maruda* is another popular work. His edition of the *Jñānēśvarī* is the one which is now commonly read. His versions of the *Purāṇa* stories brought a veritable rehabilitation of the old Hindu culture in Maharashtra. In addition, Ēkanātha was a great reformer, and by his own behaviour he showed how we should get rid of caste and untouchability in our daily life: orthodox Brahman though he was, he tended an untouchable boy, and took food with an untouchable family. All this had a great importance in strengthening the Maratha masses in their religion.

Muktēśvara (1608-1660), son of Ēkanātha's daughter, continued the work of his grand-father by composing a Marathi *Rāmāyaṇa* early in life, and then his version of the *Mahābhārata*. The entire work was done by him, but only a few of the 18 *parvans* are now available. This is a great work, and the first *parvan* is the one where the poet is at his best. He wrote a vigorous and expository style in the works he has to his credit.

Associated with this revivalist movement were other poets, like Dāsō-panta, who was a voluminous writer (his *Gītārṇava* is said to be in 150 thousand *ōvī* verses); Rāmavallabha-dāsa, who sought to emulate Jñānēśvara is composing philosophico-religious works; Śiva-Kalyāṇa, who wrote on the loves of Kṛishṇa and the *Gōpīs*; and Lōlimba-rāja, well-known for his poetical songs and prayers and for his poem on the early life of Kṛishṇa.

Contemporaneous with Ēkanātha was another great writer of Marathi, a religious man like the Indian *Sannyāsīs*, but a

foreigner who had come from Europe, settled in Western India and made the Marathi language his own. This was an Englishman, Thomas Stephens (1549-1619), who, born in England of a merchant family, became a Roman Catholic, and then he went to Rome where he was made a Jesuit. He was sent by way of Lisbon to come to Goa, where the Portuguese were already well-established, to help other missionaries in converting the Indian people. Stephens is better known by his Portuguese name Padre Estevaõ. He arrived in India in 1579, being the first Englishman to round the Cape of Good Hope. A letter he wrote from Goa to his father, who was a merchant in London, is said to have been a direct cause for the ultimate establishment of the English East India Company in 1599 with a charter from Queen Elizabeth. Stephens stayed in India for 40 years, up to his death, working as a missionary in the Malabar Coast. He first learned the Konkani dialect of Goa, and then he acquired literary Marathi and read the works of Mukunda-rāja, Jñānēśvara and Nāmadēva. He composed a great work in Marathi in *ōvī* metre, the *Khrīsta-Purāṇa*, on Bible history and the life of Christ, embodying the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. It was printed (in the Roman script as used by the Portuguese fathers for Konkani) in 1616, in 1649, in 1654 and again in 1907. Stephens evinces a great love for Marathi, and his work, largely read by Goanese Christians, is quite a classic for standard Marathi also. Ēkanātha and Stephens were worlds apart in their philosophy, yet they had much in common, as being genuinely concerned with the welfare and improvement of the masses; but they never could meet. The work of Thomas Stephens in the 16th-17th centuries indicates the adaptability of a Modern Indian language to a new and a totally foreign religious atmosphere.

During the second half of the 17th century, there started the Hindu political revival of the Marathas under the leadership of the great Śivājī, and on the literary side and in the domain of ideas, conspicuous service was rendered by the Marathi poets and teachers. Contemporaneous with Muktesvara were two other great men of the century, the Saint Tukārāma (1588-1649), and the inspirer of the Hindu revival and teacher of Śivājī, Samarthā Rāmadāsa (1608-1682). Their fame, like that of Nāmadēva and of the great Śivājī himself, is India-wide.

In Marathi literature, one would think first of the *abhaṅgas* or religious verses of Tukārāma. The Hindu empire built by the Peshwas in the 18th century on the foundations of a revived Maharashtra State by Śivājī in the 17th century goes back to the doctrines of Rāmadāsa ; and historically considered, the tricolour banner of a Free India has its ochre or saffron band at the top, signifying Renunciation, ultimately from Rāmadāsa's *sannyāsi* or mendicant's scarf of the same colour which Śivājī took up as the flag (the *bhagavā zēṇḍā* or *jhaṇḍā*) of the Hindu State founded by him.

Tukārāma, of humble Śūdra origin, was a poet of the masses in the truest sense of the term. His people were all attached to the worship of Viṭṭhala, and he developed a religious and other-worldly tendency from his early age. His life was full of poverty and suffering in its early period, and this determined his detachment from the world. His was a soul thirsty for the love and knowledge of God, but at the same time he preached reform in life and society. He was, however, primarily a poet of abandon to the mercy of God and of religious self-dedication. His 5000 *abhaṅgas* or stanzas of praise, prayer and admonition are in a very direct style and in simple Marathi, and they in their totality form a veritable Bible for the Marathi-speaking people, to which highly educated intellectuals also feel attracted.

Samartha Rāmadāsa was a man of God who had taken up the life of a celibate mendicant without worldly attachment ; yet he realized the value of organized socio-political life under a ruler who understood his duties, if the religion and the ideals it stood for were to live. Fortunately, the wisdom and guidance of Rāmadāsa and the active zeal of Śivājī were a unique combination, and as a result we have the rise of the Maratha State and the extensive Hindu Revival in 18th century India. Rāmadāsa, born as Nārāyaṇa the son of the Brahman Sūryajī Panta Thōsara and his wife Ranubāi, gave up the world on the eve of his marriage ; and as a wanderer he travelled over the whole of India for 12 years. It is likely that the influence of the Rāma cult as taught by Tulasīdāsa in Northern India had something to do with his organization and his teachings. He wrote his *Dāsa-bōdha*, which is one of the great books in Indian literature. It teaches an active faith

in God, asking people unflinchingly to do their appointed duties, and organize their life for the social as well as spiritual benefit of everybody. He wanted to organize young men in villages to be ready for the service of their society and religion, and he showed himself to be both a spiritual teacher and a practical social builder. This unique combination makes Rāmadāsa one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of India. Hindu history during the last few centuries owes a lot to the teachings of Rāmadāsa as they took shape in the achievements of Śivāji and the Marathas and other Hindu peoples.

Another poet who carried on in the 17th century the spiritual inheritance of Jñānēśvara and of the Sanskrit sacred books was Vāmana Paṇḍita (1615-1678). The *Bhagavad-gītā* inspired him, as it did a good many other teachers in mediaeval and modern India (particularly in Maharashtra), to prepare a new commentary on it, the *Yathārtha-dīpikā*, and to render it literally into Marathi as well, as the *Sama-ślōki-Gīā*. His other philosophical works include the *Nigama-sāra*, giving the substance of Vedic teaching as it was then conceived to be; and he composed narrative poems on *Purāṇa* stories, like those about Śrī-Kṛishṇa, and translated in verse Sanskrit works like the Three *Śatakas* or *Centads* of Bhartrihari and the *Gaṅgā-laharī* (Hymn to the River Ganges) of Jagannātha. Vāmana Paṇḍita enriched Marathi prosody by introducing new metres based on Sanskrit. Marathi was till then rather poor in this respect.

Raghunātha Paṇḍita (c. 1650) is well-known for his narrative poems, particularly for his *Nala-Damayanti-Svayaṃvara*, on the story of Nala from the *Mahābhārata*.

During the 17th century, Sanskrit-knowing scholars took it as their duty to improve Marathi along the lines of Sanskrit, and they served as a great check to the tendency to Persianization which the official language of the Maratha courts shows.

During the second half of the 17th century, a new kind of folk-poetry came into prominence in Marathi. It was that of the *Pōwādās* or War Ballads (from Sanskrit *Pravāda*), and these continued to be composed down to the 19th century. These ballads are simple yet spirited compositions, mostly anonymous in their authorship, and they form a very characteristic

contribution of Marathi to the sum-total of Indian literature. Good collections of them have been made, and English translations of some are available: on the basis of these, Rabindranath Tagore has introduced some of them in his stirring verse to Bengali readers. The poets who composed and sung these *Pōwādās* and other war poetry were known as *Sāhirs*, which is the Arabic word *šā'ir* 'poet'. Professional *Pōwādā*-singers later formed themselves into a class or caste known as *Gōndhalīs*.

The Marathas were creating history in India, and the writing of chronicles, at first terse statements year by year, and of despatches, took a definite form from the second half of the 17th century. These chronicles (*Bakhars*) were continued down to the end of the Maratha rule.

(c) The Peshwa (Maratha) Period, 1700-1800

During the 18th century, Maratha military and political power became dominant throughout the whole of India, and although it suffered a severe check at the third battle of Panipat in 1761 from the hands of the Afghan invaders, it remained easily the most powerful Indian political organization upto the end of the century. The work of the great teachers like Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa was over, and with the growth of Maratha influence and culture, certain sophisticated forms of literature came in. A number of poets of the refined and learned type came into prominence during the 18th century.

Śrīdhara (1678-1728) was in the line of Ēkanātha, Mukteśvara and Vāmana Paṇḍita. He is well-known in Marathi literature for his adaptations in Marathi of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*—known respectively as *Pāṇḍava-pratāpa*, *Hari-vijaya* and *Rāma-vijaya*, which are the compositions from which most Marathi-speakers receive their knowledge of these great Sanskrit works, particularly from among the unlettered. Through these works he is one of the most popular writers of Marathi. His style is simple and direct, his language also is simple, and his poetic qualities further embellish his verses with descriptive passages and similes which come easy in his narration.

Mādhva-muni (d. 1753) first brought in the secular tale

in Marathi literature. His *Dhanēśvara* is the story of a miserly individual, a sort of a novel and character-sketch in verse, which presented a new thing to Marathi readers. Another story in verse is that of King Chova (*Kathā Cōva-rāya-cī*).

Contemporaneous with Mādhva-muni as a story-teller was Amṛta-rāya (1698-1753) who wrote poems like *Durvāsa-yātrā*, *Draupadī-vastra-harāṇa* and *Dhruva-carita* in a new quick-moving metre of his own creation, the *katav*.

Mahīpati (1715-1790) of Ahmednagar State collected tales and traditions about religious men and composed a number of hagiographical poems on the saints of Maharashtra which have very great historical importance, as Mahīpati was largely objective and had a sense of realities. His works are : (i) *Bhakta-vijaya*, (ii) *Santa-lilāmṛta* (finished 1757), (iii) *Santa-vijaya* and (iv) *Bhakta-lilāmṛta* (1762 : gives the histories of some 60 saints and poets). He wrote also other devotional and Puranic narrative poems.

The greatest scholar-poet of the 18th century was Mōrō-panta (or Mayūra Paṇḍita : 1729-1794), described as "the most versatile and voluminous" among the poets of Marathi. A Sanskrit scholar specially versed in the *Purāṇas*, he could handle with ease his mother-tongue in all *turnures* of expression derived from Sanskrit. After a good study of Sanskrit, he became famous as a reader of *Purāṇa* stories, and he found a rich patron quite early. He visited Banaras and other places in North India. He composed a large number of poems on *Purāṇa* subjects, on the life of Kṛishṇa from the *Bhāgavata* and the *Hari-vaṁśa* ; and his greatest work was his version of the *Mahābhārata*, written in the *āryā* metre, which he brought out after 10 years of labour in his mature age. His devotional lyrics, like the *Samśaya-ratna-mālā* and the *Kēkāvālī*, are also very widely esteemed. Mōrō-panta's life synchronizes with the greatest days of Maratha glory. As can only be expected, Mōrō-panta was followed by a number of imitators, who wrote on in his style up to the establishment of the modern school in Marathi.

The *Lāvaṇī* is, like the *Pōwāḍā*, a special type of poetry in Marathi. It is the secular love-song, without reference to Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, and in the 18th century the *Lāvaṇī* vied with the *Pōwāḍā* in popularity. A kind of dance-drama with song and music had become popular in Maharashtra in the

18th century. This was known as the *Tamāśā*, in which boys dressed as women would sing vulgar and even obscene *lāvaṇīs*. Rāma Jōśī (1762-1812), a Brahman, liked these *tamāśās* in his youth and composed songs for them, but later in life he fell under the spell of Mōrō-panta and wrote on serious religious subjects in the metres used for *lāvaṇīs*. Ananta Phandī (1744-1821), a Brahman, whose family was that of bankers, also began as a supporter of *tamāśās* and composed both very popular *Lāvaṇīs* and *Pōwādūs* and songs in a new metre he had invented—the *phāṭaka* or 'whip'. Later in life, through the influence of the saintly Rānī Ahilyā Bāī of Indore, Ananta Phandī took to serious literature, and composed and sang his religious poems in a variety of metres, including the *katav* and the *phāṭaka*.

The prose chronicles (*Bakhars*) continued to be written during the 18th century, and there were court chroniclers known as *Bakhar-kārs*. The last famous writer of *Bakhars* was Malhar Rāmārāv Chitnis, who lived about 1810 A. D.

In the tradition of the Vedantist poets of old, we have in the 18th century at least one great writer, Sōhirōbā (1714-1789), whose works are learned and full of the spirit of Vedantic devotion, but they are not popular.

The eighteenth century passed into the nineteenth in the midst of a general decay of Maratha power, and in 1818, after a war with the British, Maratha independence was over, by the British deposing Peshwa Bājī Rāo II and taking over his territories. The Nizām had a good part of Maharashtra under him, and the Bhonsales of Nagpur, the Holkars of Indore, and the Gaekwads of Baroda were Maratha potentates under British protection.

(3) New or Modern Marathi : from 1800 A. D.

With the establishment of the rule of the East India Company over the Maratha country in 1818, the people came into closer touch with English culture and literature from the beginning of the 19th century, although from Bombay some influence was felt (Bombay was in British hands since 1667). The first attempts to create a modern literature in Marathi came from two distant and unexpected places—Tanjore and Calcutta. The Maratha Rājā of Tanjore, Tailājī-rāv, in the heart of the

Tamil country, adopted in 1782 as his son a prince from the Bhonsale family, and this young prince, Sarphōjī Mahārāj, was taught English by a missionary, Schwartz, who was made his tutor. Sarphōjī handed over his estate to the management of the East India Company for an annuity, and from 1798 to his death in 1824, he spent his time in scholarly pursuits, and established a fine library. He wanted to create modern literature in Marathi, and in 1817 he actually had the *Fables of Aesop* translated into Marathi through his chief adviser Sakhonnā Paṇḍit, and printed this work with Devanagari types and illustrated with woodcuts from a printing press he had established in the palace at Tanjore. This printing press went to ruin after the Raja's death, but a beginning was made under enlightened auspices of Sarphōjī Mahārāj.

The Baptist Missionary in Bengal, William Carey (see pp. 133, 176, 177, 199) also was a pioneer in the modernizing of Marathi and in the printing of books in it. Along with Sanskrit and Bengali he learned Marathi, and published a Marathi Grammar from Serampore in 1805, using the Bāḷa-bōdha or Nagari letters. Then he brought out a dictionary of Marathi and English, of 600 pages, in which he employed the Mōḍī character. He rendered into Marathi portions of the Bible, and some books from Bengali and Hindi into Marathi—altogether about 10 books.

Mounstuart Elphinstone (afterwards Lord Elphinstone) was Governor of Bombay, and after the extinction of the Maratha (Peshwa) rule, he became the first Governor of Bombay Presidency in 1818. He followed a most enlightened policy towards Marathi, supporting the creation of a new or modern literature in it. Already in 1815, a *Vidyōttējaka Sabhā* was established in Bombay with a modern outlook, and other societies came into being, including one for the publication of text-books in the various branches of European learning. This ushered in an age of translations from English, which established a workable modern prose style in Marathi.

Among the first prose-writers, including translators, were the following : (i) Sadāśiva Kāśīnāth (alias Bāpu Sāheb) Chatrē (1788-1830), who translated from Sanskrit as well as from English ; (ii) Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī Jambhēkar (1810-1846), a Sanskrit scholar who specialized in Hindu Mathematics and Astronomy, and became a professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the

Elphinstone Institution in Bombay. He wrote works on history, geography, grammar, mathematics and astronomy, and started an Anglo-Marathi newspaper and a Marathi magazine with another writer Bhāū Mahājan (Gōvind Viṭṭhal Mahājan, 1815-1890). A succession of Marathi papers was started and edited by Mahājan.

Translation work continued, making slow progress, of English books on the arts and sciences ; and in the meanwhile, the study of old literature also was given a new form by the publication of a selection from old poets, the *Navanīta* by Paraśurāma-pant Tātyā Gōḍbōlē. The great Marathi-English Dictionary under the editorship of the English missionary J. T. Molesworth and G. and T. Candy appeared in 1831 (Second edition, 1857). English Missionaries also joined educationists under Government employ in preparing text-books.

During this first or preparatory half-a-century for Modern Marathi, the Marathi drama took its rise. Mahādēv Gōvind-śāstrī Kōlhaṭkar (1811-1862) was a good Sanskrit scholar before he learnt English, and he rendered some English poems into Marathi verse, besides some works in science ; and he introduced Shakspeare to Marathi readers by translating *Othello*. Viṣṇu Amṛt Bhāvē, however, wrote the first Marathi drama which was played in 1841—the *Sītā-Svayamvara*, with songs and dances--under the patronage of Appāsāheb Paṭwardhan, Chief of Sangli. Bhāvē wrote a few more plays on episodes from the two great Sanskrit epics.

Balvant Pāṇḍuraṅg Kirlōskar (1843-1885) wrote some 4 dramas, rather Indian operas with plenty of music, the first of which was a play on the life of Śaṅkarāchārya (1871). Next to him as a dramatist of Marathi was Vāsudēv Vāman Kharē (1858-1924), poet as well as dramatist ; and then there was Rām Gaṇēś Gadkarī (1885-1919), also well-known as a poet, who wrote 18 dramas, social as well as historical.

The foundation of the University of Bombay in 1857 (simultaneously with those of Calcutta and Madras) made English education well-established in Western India, and a direct advancement of Marathi literature resulted from it. Translations from Sanskrit literature were taken up by Paraśurām Tātyā Gōḍbōlē (1799-1874) and Kṛishṇa Śāstrī Rājawādē (1820-1900) : Kṛishṇa Hari Chiplūṅkar (1844-1878) commenced as a

prose writer ; Vishṇu Bhikājī Gōkhalē (1825-1871) wrote and spoke in defence of Hinduism—his great work on the subject being his *Vēdōkta-Dharma-prakāśa* ('Exposition of the Religion inculcated in the Vedas').

After 1860, attempts were made at writing novels in Marathi, and the first novel, *Mañjughōṣa*, a romantic story of the mediaeval type, was published in 1868, the author being Nārāyaṇ-rāv Sadāśiv Risbud, who wrote two other novels.

One remarkable thing about Marathi literature of the 19th century was that so many eminent Sanskritists took their share in developing it. Marathi literature was never divorced from the 'high seriousness' of a classical language like Sanskrit. In addition to the other scholars and writers mentioned above, we may name, among the giants of the second half of the 19th century, such eminent men as Mahādēv Mōrēsvar Kuntē (1835-1888), Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṅg Paṇḍit (1840-1894), Vināyak-rāv Kōṇḍadēv Ōka (1840-1914, author of biographical and historical works), Mahādēv Gōvind Rāṇaḍē (1842-1907 : educationist, lawyer, judge, patriot, who successfully fought the case of the mother-tongue in University education); Kāśīnāth Trimbak Tēlang (1850-1893 : eminent scholar of Sanskrit, who translated the *Bhāgavad-Gītā* in 'the Sacred Books of the East' series started from Oxford by F. Max Mueller); Rāmakṛishṇa Gōpāl Bhaṇḍārkar (1837-1925 : great Sanskritist, historian, philologist and archaeologist, who revived the study of Tukārām and other classics in Marathi); Narasīmha Chintāmaṇ Kēlkar, besides others.

A master prose-writer was Vishṇu-Śāstrī Kṛishṇa Chiplūṅkar (1850-1882), who is sometimes called "the Father of Marathi Prose". His great contribution was a series of essays on various literary and social topics, known as the *Nibandha-mālādarśa*, in which he remains immortal, although he died only when 32. The sweet-reasonableness of his argument, his satire and humour, and his forceful language made this book a classic from the time the articles began to appear, and they were published in their final form in 1882.

Gōpāl Gaṇś Agharkar (1856-1895) was a social reformer who brought out an adaptation of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* (as *Vikāra-Vilasita*, 1883). As an essayist, he comes only next to Vishṇu-Śāstrī Chiplūṅkar. He was an educationist as well as a

journalist, who edited the well-known Poona paper the *Kēsari* and brought out the *Sudhāraka*.

Bāl Gaṅgādhār Ṭīlak (1856-1920), educationist, journalist, patriot and political fighter, Vedic scholar and antiquarian, and philosopher, was one of the great men of modern India. His greatest work in Marathi is the *Gītā-rahasya* ('Secret of the *Gītā*'), besides expositions of Hindu religion and works on the history of the Indian fight for independence through the Home-rule Movement.

Among writers of creative literature in modern Marathi, some of the outstanding names may be mentioned.

The new or modern note in Marathi poetry came with the writings of Kṛishṇājī Kēśav Dāmbē, known as 'Kēśava-sut' (1866-1905). In him Marathi poetry comes from the earlier archaistic and even mediaeval school to the modern. In one of his powerful poems composed in 1889 he gives the complaint of a starving day-labourer in front of the ostentatious wealth of the rich, presenting the point of view of the exploited worker. After Dāmbē we have to mention Reverend Nārāyaṇ Vāman Ṭīlak, Rām Gaṇēś Gadkarī (sobriquet 'Gōvindāgraj'), Vināyak Janārdan Karandikar, 'Bāl-kavi' (Tryambak Bāpujī Thōmarē), 'Bee' (Guptē), and Bhāskar Rāmchandra Tāmbē.

In fiction, Hari Nārāyaṇ Āptē (1864-1919), is called "the prince of novelists" in Marathi. He was a failure in several professions, and was made manager of the Ānandāśrama Institution at Poona, which brought out so many Sanskrit classics. He wrote a number of social and historical novels from 1885 onwards, his literary output being some 50 volumes, of which half are novels. He was specially powerful in depicting the sufferings and the psychology of women, particularly widows in Hindu society and young wives in joint-families; and there is a glowing idealism and patriotism in his writings. His best works are *Paṇ kōṇ lakṣyāt ghētō?* ('Who takes into consideration?'), *Mī* ('I'), *Uṣaḥkāḷ* ('Dawn'—a historical novel of Śivājī's time), *Kēval Svārājya-sāthī* ('Only for Freedom'), *Gaḍh ālā, paṇ Simha gēlā* ('The Fort was won, but the Hero died'), *Vajrāghāt* ('Thunder-bolt'), etc. Hari Nārāyaṇ Āptē unquestionably is one of greatest figures in Modern Indian literature.

Bankim Chandra Chatterji's Bengali novels were rendered into Marathi by Viṭṭhal Sītārām Gurjar, Vāsudēv* Gōvind

Apte, Kāśināth Hari Mōḍak, and others. Works of Śarat Chandra Chatterji and Prabhāt Kumār Mukherji also are available in Marathi. Bengali literature, particularly in fiction, has exerted a very great influence on that of present-day Marathi, either by direct translations from Bengali, or through English. (On the other hand, Tukārām's religious poetry and the Marathi ballads on Śivājī have been introduced into Bengali by Satyēndranath Tagore, an elder brother of Rabindranath, and by Rabindranath himself—the latter's great poem on Śivājī is a remarkable appreciation from the poet from Eastern India of the aims and ideals of Śivājī which are at the root of the Maratha Renaissance of the 17th-18th century and of Indian nationalism in the 19th and 20th, just as the North Indian Hindi Poet Bhūshaṇ, contemporary of Śivājī, showed his admiration of Śivājī by his famous compositions.) In recent years, the social situation in Bengal, and the question of Hindu-Moslem relations in East Bengal at the time of the Partition, have exercised Marathi writers—e.g. S. R. Viwalkar's novel *Sunitā* (1948) and some of Māmā Varerkar's works.

Vāman Malhar Jōśī (1882-1943) has some popular novels—*Āśram-hariṇī*, an idealistic story of ancient India, *Suśilā-cā Dēv* ('the Lord i. e. Husband of Suśilā') and *Rāgiṇī* (a philosophical and literary disquisition on a slender story).

Nārāyaṇ Sītāram Phaḍkē, a professor of Philosophy, is looked upon by many as the most popular novelist of Marathi, although he is criticized as being rather frank in depicting some of his love situations. He has written some 30 novels, besides short stories, essays, scenarios and dramas.

Vishṇu Sakhārām Khaṇḍēkar (born 1898) is a teacher, and a serious writer who is quite prolific. He excels in pathos, and tragic endings are common. He presents a contrast to Nārāyaṇ S. Phaḍkē who verges on the sensual, although love is the pivot of his stories.

Gajānan Tryambak Madkhōlkar, journalist, is another popular novelist, living now in Nagpur. His works, not extensive in number, are descriptive in nature ; love is the main theme, and his leftist and socialistic outlook makes him popular with the younger generation as a modernist.

Purushōttam Yaśōvant Deśpāṇḍē is ultra-modern, in abjuring allegiance to old moral standard and old conventions (e.g. in his

Bandhana Palikaḍe 'Beyond all Restraint'). Like *Phaḍkē* and *Madkhōlkar*, he looks to the future morals and to what the future may bring to us.

Among other novelists of the present generation are to be mentioned *Sāne Gurujī* (1899-1950), *R. V. Dighe*, *Vīśrām Bēḍekar*, *Hadōp*, *Sāwant*, and the women novelists *Mrs. Mālatī Bēḍekar* (pen-name *Vibhārānī Shirurkar*), *Mrs. Gītā Sāne*, *Mrs. Mukta-bāī Dīkshit* (*Kṛishṇā-bāī*), *Mrs. Kamalābāī Tīlāk* and *Mrs. Kusumāvatī Dēśpāṇḍē*.

Nārāyaṇ Hari Āptē is a novelist of the present day who follows the old ideals of restraint, so far as the modern amoral and "progressive" ideas are concerned.

In the short story and the novel, some of the present-day writers, as it can be only expected, show a leaning towards Marxism. The following are among the popular writers in this line : *Y. G. Jōśī*, *V. V. Bōkil*, *Gaṅgādhār Gāḍgil*, *Bhāvē*, *V. S. Gurjar*, *S. K. Kōlhaṭkar*, *Diwākar Kṛishṇa*, *P. K. Ātrē*, *Shāmrao Oak*, *C. V. Jōśī*, *Aravind Gōkhalē*, *Vyaṅkaṭēśh Maḍgulkar*, *S. N. Ghāṭē*, *C. Y. Marāṭhē*, *Annābhāī Sāṭhē*, *Ranganokar Lakshmaṇ-rāv Sardēsāī Pādhyē*, and *Ghōrghaṭē*.

Vināyak Dāmōdar Sāvarkar, patriot and nationalist leader, former president of the *Hindu Mahāsabhā* organization, has a powerful work on his experiences during his 25 years penal servitude in the Andamans for anti-British activities (*Kālē Pāṇī*, 'the Black Waters').

There have been a good number of writers of serious prose—including autobiographies,—and among them we can signal out two leaders, *Dr. Mrs. Irāvātī Karvē* and *Mrs. Durgā Bhāgavat*, who have introduced a subtle personal style in the Marathi essay.

Among outstanding poets of the modern age, after the poets of the first period like *Annā Mōrēśvar Kuṇṭe*, *Vāsudēv-Sāstri Kharē*, and *Rām Gaṇēś Gadkarī*, we have in the twenties the *Ravikiran Maṇḍal* group of naturalists, of whom the most important were the thinkers *Mādhav Tryambak Paṭwardhan* (1894-1939, 'Mādhav Juliyan' was his pen-name), *Śaṅkar Kēśav Kanēḷkar* (alias 'Giris'), *Yaśvant Dinkar Peṇḍharkar* (pen-name 'Yaśvant') ; and the novelist *Gajānan Tryambak Madkhōlkar*, mentioned before. *Anant Kanēkar* (b. 1905) is greatly admired for his songs and lyrics. *B. S. Mardhēkar* (1907-1956) and *P. S. Rēgē*

brought in a new outlook and a new method in modern Marathi poetry. They are among the most modern in their attitude and their technique. Among this new school fall Śarat-Chandra Muktibōdh, Binda Karandikar, Y. D. Bhāvē, Maṅgēś Paḍgāonkar, Vasant Bāpaṭ, Omar Shaikh, Manō-Mōhan, G. D. Madgalkar, A. R. Dēśpāṇḍē ('Anil') author of charming prose-poems, N. G. Dēśpāṇḍē, and V. V. Shirwadkar ('Kusumāgraj').

The dramatists of the earlier, formative period have been mentioned before. Kṛishṇājī Prabhākar Khaḍilkar is among the senior dramatists who is quite popular: his plays, based on the *Purāṇas* as well as on romantic and historical themes, over 25 in number, are read, and not so much acted. Narasimha Chintāmaṇ Kēlkar (1872-1947), contemporaneous prose writer with Khaḍilkar, was an outstanding literary critic, who wrote also some dramas of a historical character. The farces of Mādhavrāo Jōśī, and his social satires, are well known. The most popular dramatists of the present day are Prahlād Kēśav Ātrē, (born 1898), who has been mentioned before as a writer of fiction and who is now regarded as the leading dramatist of Marathi. He has not written much—barely a dozen works, mostly socio-political dramas. As a humorist and critic he is liked, but his humour is broad rather than intellectual. Bhārgav Viṭṭhal Varērkar (alias Māmā Varērkar), a senior writer, has about 20 plays with social themes with happy endings. Like Ātrē, he is influenced by the European drama, and he also treats sympathetically socialistic themes and the labour movement. Varērkar's *Sonā-cā Kaḷas* ('The Vase of Gold'), *Sattē-cē Gulām* ('Slaves of Capitalistic Power'), for example, are directed against capitalism. Māmā Varērkar is also a novelist of note, and he is the prolific author of some 115 novels, which are of varying quality; of these, 28 are detective novels, and 58 are translations from Bengali (specially from Śarat Chandra Chatterji). His translations have been appreciated as having a 'consummate case'. His original novels deal with the poor and the down-trodden, but such characters have taken a new life from him, in being bold and assertive. Purushōttam Gaṇēś Sahasrabuddhē and Santarām Gōpāl Guptē are other writers of social dramas as well as historical and patriotic plays.

Western India gave asylum to certain peoples of the West forced out of their country through religious persecution :

the Syrian Christians, the Jews, and the Parsis. There is a large Jewish population in the Maratha country whose mother-tongue is now Marathi. The *Beni Israel* Community (as distinguished from the Arabic-speaking Jews, recent arrivals in India from Mesopotamia, and the earlier Malayalam-speaking Jews, "Black Jews" and "White Jews", from Malabar) has produced a good many writers of Marathi, particularly in the 19th century, and they have specially written in Marathi on subjects connected with the Jewish religion, history and culture. This work of Indian Jews in an Indian language does not appear to be known to the Western Jewish World.

The future of Marathi literature is quite bright—as in the case of other Indian languages. The foundation of the University of Poona and the establishment of the Maratha-speaking State of Maharashtra, together with the liberation of Goa, bid fair to be of great importance for the improvement and advancement of Marathi, both language and literature.

GUJARATI LITERATURE

Gujarati as a language is closely connected with the Marawari form of Rajasthani, and as a matter of fact it may be said that Gujarati and Marwari were one language upto about 1600 A. D., after which they began to differentiate, Marwari being linked up with Northern India, coming very much under the spell first of Braj-bhasha and then of Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu). Braj-bhasha was studied extensively by Gujarati-speakers also, and among Braj-bhasha poets from after 1600 there are a good number of Gujaratis.

Gujarati is now spoken by over 11 millions, and it has been taken overseas, particularly to East Africa, by Hindu (Brahmanical and Jain) as well as Muslim merchants who have settled in the British territories of East Africa, Central Africa and South Africa, as well as in Mauritius. Gujarati arose as a New Indo-Aryan language, current over the whole of Gujarat and Western Rajasthan, about 1000 A. D. The oldest compositions that we find in the Gujarat area at this period (apart from Sanskrit) are in Śaurasēnī or Nāgara Apabhraṃśa. The language was developing, but the early writers still preferred to use the late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhraṃśa) and not the actual living New Indo-Aryan Gujarati-Marwari speech, the 'Old Western Rajasthani', as L. P. Tessitori, the Italian scholar who studied in great detail this form of Early New Indo-Aryan, has called it. The history of literature in Gujarat-Rajasthan has become one of the most glorious in India—in Sanskrit, in Prakrit and in Apabhraṃśa, particularly in the 10th-12th centuries, when Old Western Rajasthani as the immediate source of Gujarati was taking shape as a New Indo-Aryan language.

Gujarati literature in its history can be conveniently divided into three periods :

- (1) the Old Gujarati Period, upto c. 1450 A. D.
- (2) the Middle Gujarati Period, upto 1800 ; and
- (3) the New or Modern Gujarati Period, from after 1800, during which European influence as in the case of the other Indian languages came to be established, and this modernized the literature.

(1) The Old Gujarati Period : to 1450 A. D.

The religious, cultural and literary life of the Gujarat people was proceeding smoothly all through the centuries upto the end of the

13th century, when a new cataclysm faced the people of Gujarat by the conquest of the country by Sultān Alāuddīn Khiljī of Delhi in 1299. Before that Gujarat had withstood the ravages into her life and culture resulting from the plundering raids of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni in the 10th-11th century, and by later Muslim invasions. The patronage of poets and literary men by the Hindu court of the Cālukya rulers as a result of this conquest was at an end, and poets and scholars had to seek the patronage of the masses in the villages more than ever. They naturally had to turn their attention to the people; and as an indirect result of the Turki conquest of Gujarat (it was like that in Bengal and elsewhere in Northern India), a new period of literary effort in the spoken language of the country started.

Hēmachandra, the erudite Jaina scholar and saint, and grammarian (1089-1173), collected over 100 couplets in the Apabhraṁśa of his time as the language which was used like the vernacular, and these are claimed by both Hindi (Braj-bhasha and Khari-boli) and Marwari-Gujarati as specimens of their earlier forms. Jaina scholarly writers used the Gujarati language from its very inception, and the earliest period of Gujarati literature is dominated by Jaina writers, in both prose and verse. The Jaina scholars made Gujarati a very fine medium of expression by composing not only prose-tales (of a romantic, edifying, moral and religious character) and poems (narrative and didactic) but also works on grammar and philosophy and other technical subjects. Old Gujarati may be said to have developed fully by the 12th century A. D. Some special literary types—which were (i) the *Rāsas* or Long Poems—narrative, romantic, and heroic; (ii) *Kathās* or Stories in prose and verse, of love and adventure and edification; (iii) *Phāgus*, Song-poems on love and nature as well as on adventure; (iv) *Bāra-māsīs* or Songs of the Seasons and lovers' reactions to them (see ante, p. 101); and (v) *Rāsaks* or Women's Songs—later known as *Garbās*—which form such an important part of Gujarati lyric poetry—these are songs sung by women as they dance round a lamp, and these form “beautiful gems in literature”. Folk-tales current in the Gujarat-Marwar-Malwa area were written in Gujarati prose during this age, and they were compiled in books called also *Bālāvabōdha* or “*Instruction to the Youth*”. Taruṇa-prabha, a Jaina Monk, composed one *Bālāvabōdha*, c. 1355 A. D., which is one of the oldest books of Gujarati proper. During the second

half of the 14th century, Nēmichandra Bhāṇḍārī composed 160 Prakrit *gāthās* on the Jaina faith on which two prose commentaries (*Bālāvabōdhas*) in Old Gujarati were written by Sōma-sundara Sūri (c. 1553 A. D.) and by Jina-sāgara Sūri (c. 1558).

Jaina writers were not alone in the field of Gujarati literature. A number of prose chronicles of Brahmanical origin are found, and also some highly ornate poems. One such poem is the *Vasanta-vilāsa* or "Joyousness of the Spring", of unknown Brahmanical (non-Jain) authorship, composed c. 1350 A. D. This beautiful poem shows a good deal of influence of the *Gīta-gōvinda* of Jayadēva of Bengal (see pp. 159-160). The Parsis settled in Gujarat began to render their scriptures from Avestan and Pahlavi into Sanskrit in the 13th century, and then from 14th into Gujarati, which had already become their language.

Among other Old Gujarati works may be mentioned the poems like the *Raṇamalla-Chanda*, *Uṣā-haraṇa*, *Sitā-haraṇa* and *Prabōdhacintāmaṇi*, and that work in ornate prose, the *Pṛthwī-chandra-caritra*, of unknown authorship, composed before 1422, which is a sort of a prose romance relating to a prince : it is a unique work of its kind.

The Old Gujarati style or tradition in prose and poetry continued right down to the beginning of the 17th century, a century and half after a new tradition ushering in Middle Gujarati was established ; e. g. the *Kānhaḍa-dē Prabandha* of Padmanābha, composed c. 1456 A. D., which describes in stirring language the fight put by the last Hindu King of Jālahura (Jhālōr) in Gujarat when the Pathan Muslims under Alāuddīn Khiljī from Delhi attacked Gujarat and finally conquered the province in 1299 from Rājā Karṇa (Karaṇ Gahēlō). It is a spirited hero-tale, which because of its archaic language is not so popular as it should be, although it has been rendered into Modern Gujarati. It is also claimed by Rajasthani as one of its early classics : and as such, in addition to the excellent Gujarati edition by Ḍāhyābhāi P. Dērāsari (2nd edition, Ahmedabad 1926), a very beautiful critical edition of it as a classic of Rajasthani has been brought out from Jaipur in 1953 by the Rājasthan Purātattva Mandir under the editorship of Kāntilāl Baladēv-rāma Vyāsa.

(2) Middle Gujarati : 1450-1800

Narasimha Mahatā (Narsī Mehtā, 1415-1481), ushered in a new era in Gujarati literature by introducing the Bhakti School which

was during this century effecting a transformation of the literatures in most of the other New Indo-Aryan languages. He was, like other *Bhaktas*, against the abuses of the caste-system which he wanted to break, and he composed his devotional lyrics in honour of God conceived in the form of Kṛishṇa. He was the first great poet of Gujarati who still lives in the memory and in the lips of the Gujarati-speakers. Mahatma Gandhi was a great admirer of Narasimha Mahatā, and one of his devotional poems on the nature of the ideal Servant of God (Vaishṇava) was a favourite religious song of his. Narasimha Mehtā was for Vēdānta based both on *Jñāna* or Knowledge and *Bhakti* or Faith in God, and in his spiritual ideas he appears to have been influenced by both the North Indian poets and saints and the saints of Maharashtra like Jñānadēva and Nāmādēva (13th-14th centuries A. D.). Narasimha Mehtā's religio-social work through his lyrics, particularly in the *Jhūlana* metre, is based on the teachings of the saint and sage Viṣṇu-svāmī of Karṇāṭa, and his work preceded that of Vallabhāchārya and his followers (15th-16th centuries) in Gujarat who introduced the *Puṣṭi-mārga* school of Vaishnavism.

Contemporaneous with Narasimha Mehtā were Mirān (Mīrā or Mīrā) Bāī (she lived during the first half of the 16th century : see before, under *Hindi Literature*, p. 125 ; but her dates are 1403-1470, according to one Gujarat tradition), and Bhālaṇa. Mīrā Bāī belonged to Rajputana, but during her life-time there was not much difference between Rajasthani (Marwari) and Gujarati. Her compositions breathing an impassioned yearning for God were partly in Old Marwari (or Old Gujarati) and partly in Braj-bhasha, and they have been largely 'Hindiized', and she passes in North India commonly as a 'Hindi' poetess, and her name is generally included within *Hindi Literature*, as one of its greatest poets. In Gujarat, as in the Hindi-using area, and even in distant Bengal, as much as in Maharashtra, her songs to Giridhara Gōpāla, a form of Kṛishṇa, are still sung by music lovers and are deeply appreciated by everybody—only their language in Gujarat has been largely modernized to present-day Gujarati.

Bhālaṇa (15th century : also known as Purushōttama Mahārāja) wrote the story of Kṛishṇa as in the 10th chapter of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* in short lyrics in Gujarati, and occasionally in Braj-bhasha, showing a strong influence of his contemporary in

Braj, Sūra-dāsa. In the latter part of his work, he followed the style of the earlier Gujarati *Ākhyānas* or mythological narrative tales. Bhālaṇa also made a very beautiful adaptation of the Sanskrit romance the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, and this, while following faithfully the original, was successful in creating something new and fresh in Gujarati.

Vallabha Mēwādō (16th century) celebrated the Mother Goddess in her benign aspect. From the 16th century, the school of the Vaishnava saint Vallabhāchārya (1479-1531) the founder of the *Puṣṭi-mārga* school of *Bhakti*, became a great force in Gujarati life and literature, and poets of this school began to manifest themselves in large numbers in Gujarati.

In the 17th-18th centuries, three great poets came to the field. They were Ākhō (1615-1675 : his full name was Akshaya-dāsa), Prēmānanda Bhaṭṭa (1636-1734), and Sāmaḷa (Śyāmala-dāsa Bhaṭṭa : 18th century). Ākhō was a goldsmith by profession ; he belonged to the *Jñāna* school, and wrote poems against the woes and evils of the material world and warned people against the wiles of hypocritical teachers of religion. A full study of Ākhō and his works has been published by the eminent dramatist, poet and literary critic of present-day Gujarati, Umāśaṅkar Jōśī. Prēmānanda is one of the towering personalities of Gujarati literature. He elevated Gujarati diction by his *ākhyānas* or Puranic narrative poems, which, sung or recited before the people, have helped to give its special tone to the Gujarati character. Although narrating mythological tales, he introduced living characters and realism, and so brought in a new spirit in Gujarati literature. Sāmaḷa, like Prēmānanda, was a poet and a public reciter of religio-moral stories from the *Purāṇas*. From this he passed on to poetical treatment of incidents of homely life, and in this he was successful, adding a new genre to Gujarati. He was for social equality among members of the various castes, like Narasimha Mehtā.

The tradition of Middle Gujarati literature, in devotional lyric and in religious narrative (like the *pada* and the *maṅgala* of Middle Bengali), which was at the same time critical of caste excesses and ultra-orthodoxy, was fully established in the works of the above writers, and it was carried on by quite a number of poets in the 17th and 18th centuries. Dayaram (1767-1852 : his original name was Dayāśaṅkar, before he became a Vaishnava, and his father's

name was Prabhuraṃa) was the last great poet of this Middle Gujarati tradition. He was a follower of the Vallabhāchārya school, and he was a writer of genius who eclipsed all other poets of the age, even poets like Mukṭānanda, Brahmānanda, Prēmānanda and Prēma-sakhī who belonged to the other well-known Vaishnava sect of Gujarat, the followers of Śvāmī Nārāyaṇa. Dayarām made a ten-year tour of North India from his 14th to his 25th year, and there is considerable influence of Braj-bhasha in his writings, particularly of the works of the Aṣṭa-Chāp followers of Vallabhāchārya (see *ante*, p. 124). His lyrics, known as *garbīs*, are on the divine sports of Kṛishṇa. He shows an urbanity of mind in his works, and his position as the greatest poet of Gujarati of his times is universally admitted.

Among other poets of the later part of the Middle Gujarati Period may be named Rājā, a Muslim who wrote on the subject of devotion to Kṛishṇa ; Raṇachhōḍ, Raghunāth and others, who wrote on pure *Bhakti*, and Pritam, Dhīrō, Bhōjō, Narbhō and Prāgō, who were poets of the *Jñāna* school.

(3) New or Modern Gujarati : from 1800

Gujarat came in touch with the European world (the Portuguese, and then the Dutch and the English) from the 16th century, but European influence could not be much effective in Gujarati life and literature before 1850. Gujarat with Maharashtra became a part of British India when the victory of the British at Kirkee in 1818 put an end to the independent Maharashtra State, and the British took charge of the administration of Gujarat. The Gujarati merchants, Jains and Vaishnavas, however, busied themselves with trade only, and at first they were not interested in the culture of the Englishmen, or the "culture" of the Portuguese (with its forcible conversion of people to Roman Catholicism and with its institution of the Inquisition) ; and these never had any attraction for the people of India, whether in the West Coast, or the South Coast or the East Coast ; and besides, the Brahmans never took the *Mlecchas* or foreign barbarians seriously. But English influence began to percolate slowly from the beginning of the 19th century, from Bombay and Surat ; and, as elsewhere in India, British educationists and Christian missionaries helped to develop the Indian languages in Bombay,

along modern lines, by establishing the printing press, by helping to build up a businesslike prose, and by creating a literature of information.

The attention of the first batch of leaders and writers of Gujarati was directed towards various abuses in Indian society, and those of them who were intelligent and understood the need for reform readily co-operated with some enlightened British officers like Alexander Kinloch Forbes, who, for the intellectual uplift of the Gujarati people through the creation of a modern literature in their mother-tongue, had established at Ahmedabad the *Gujarat Vernacular Society* in 1848, a society which did conspicuous service to Gujarati literature and still continues to flourish under its new name of *Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā*. At Kinloch Forbes' request, the poet Dalpat-rām took up this great work in *Vernacular Society*, and he was supported by other prominent writers of Gujarati.

The first great Gujarati writers of the modern school were Dalpat-rām (Kaviśvara Dalapat-rām Ḍāhyābhāi Taravāḍī, 1820-1898) and Narmad-Śaṅkar (1833-1886). They introduced Western matters and forms in both Gujarati prose and poetry. Dalpat-rām belonged to the Svāmī-Nārāyaṇa sect, and he carried on to some extent the Svāmī-Nārāyaṇa tradition in his poetry. He was a teacher and reformer, and in addition he was a consummate artist in poetry. He used with rare skill many Sanskrit metres in his Gujarati verse, and his success made Sanskrit metres quite popular in Modern Gujarati poetry. He was humorous and witty as well as earnest and serious; and he wrote poems supporting social reforms and economic rehabilitation, like the legalization of the remarriage of Hindu widows, and the revival of Indian industries which were seriously threatened by British industrialism and commercialism. His services in modernizing both the mind of Gujarat and the Gujarati language were inestimable. Narmad-Śaṅkar started as an uncompromising reformist (later in life his eager zeal was much softened and moderated), and like Ākhṇ, he exposed the vicious practice of some of the Vallabhāchāri *Mahārājas* or religious leaders. He was a nature poet of great charm; and he compiled almost single-handed the first dictionary of Gujarati. The beauty of nature, love of the mother-land, the glorification of love and the human personality, are found in his poetry and prose both. He is sometimes called

“the Father of Modern Gujarati Prose”, and he was a pioneer in many departments of both life and literature.

One great landmark in the history of Modern Gujarati life and culture was the foundation of the University of Bombay in 1857. As in Calcutta and Madras Universities, the judicious combination of Sanskrit with European humanistic (and later scientific) studies helped young university men in Gujarat and Western India to retain a proper balance in their intellectual make-up, and the best elements of Indian culture were sought to be preserved and advanced while accepting from the West whatever was of value for India. A real intellectual renaissance started, which gave the tone to the next phase of Gujarati literature.

The Old Gujarati style of prose-narratives, Jaina and Brahmanical, and the *ākhyānas* or verse stories, helped to start the novel and the short story of a modern type in Gujarati. The new-style drama also came into being, together with a Gujarati stage, and in this Gujarati influenced Marathi and even Hindi.

Gōvardhan-dās Tripāṭhī (1855-1907) was the most outstanding personality in Gujarati during the second half of the 19th century. By profession a lawyer, he wrote his great novel *Saraswatī-Candra*, in 4 parts and nearly 2000 pages, dealing with the social, political and cultural questions of the country, condemning the decadent Indian states in their intrigues and inefficiency. This work, which took 14 years to complete (1887-1901), forms a landmark in Gujarati literature—it has been rightly called an ‘epic novel’, considering not only its extent but also the range of its subject and the breadth of its vision. This novel is a little rambling, but Gōvardhan-dās’s consummate skill in depicting living persons, men and women, is universally admired. He had to invent a new language, which had to be highly Sanskritized, to render adequately his ideas. *Saraswatī-Candra* has been translated into Hindi and Marathi. Nanda-Śaṅkar Tuljā-Śaṅkar is the author of the *Karaṇ-Ghelo* (1866), one of the earliest novels in any Indian language, and a classic in Gujarati; and another famous early work in the domain of the historical novel is *Vanarāj Cāvḍō* by Mahīpat-rām Rūp-rām Nīlakaṇṭha. These are two of the best historical novels of the old type in Modern Gujarati.

Nārāyaṇ Hēma-chandra was another novelist with a good number of stories, short and long, to his credit. He was a voluminous writer on various subjects, and he translated many Bengali books into Gujarati. Besides, he is the author of a very well-written autobiography, *Hū-Pōtē* ('Myself'), which is quite personal and is a remarkable book in Gujarati.

Other noted novelists are Chunīlāl Māḍiā, Chunīlāl Varōhaman Shāh, Guṇvant-rāy Āchārya (with his novels on life at sea, with their scenes around Cutch and the Gujarat sea-coast), "Dhūma-kētu" (Gaurī-Śaṅkar Gōvardhana-rām Jōśī), Īśwar Patlīkar, Ramanlāl V. Dēśai and Pannālāl Paṭēl, who is most popular as a short-story writer also. Other well-known short-story writers are Kisan Singh Chāvḍā, Mōhanlāl Mehtā, Jayantī Dalāl, Gulāb-dās Broker, Jayant Khētrī, Yatīndra Davē and "Swapnastha" (Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇ Vyāsa).

The Parsi journalist and leader Bahrāmji M. Mālābārī (1863-1912) who wrote in Gujarati as well as English, was a *prosateur* and poet of note belonging to the older generation. Along with him we have to mention another great Parsi writer of Gujarati, Ardēshīr Frāmji Khabardār (b. 1881), who is a poet of great charm, starting in the style of Narmad-Śaṅkar, and introducing a telling note of sarcasm in his verse.

A great poet from the end of the last century has been Nānālāl, son of Kavīśvara Dalpat-rām (born 1877). He is considered the great innovator in poetry in the present age of Gujarati. He imitated successfully the European blank verse, and his poetical style in Gujarati is inimitable. His great poems *Kurukṣetra* and *Hari-saṁhitā*, and his dramas *Jaya-jayanta* and *Nūr-jahān*, have been described as unique in Modern Indian literature. He is a versatile writer, though mainly in the romantic and lyric veins, and he has to his credit not only beautiful *garbis* (lyrics) but longer odes, dramas, novels, essays and public addresses. His popularity can be gauged from the epithet that has been given him, "the Poet Laureate of Gujarat".

Three other great poets of the present age in Gujarati were Narsimha-rāv B. Divēṭiyā (1859-1937), a poet of nature, Maṇi-Śaṅkar Ratanji Bhaṭṭ (1867-1923), known as 'Kānt', and Surasimhjī Gōhil (1874-1900), Prince of Lathi State in Kathiawad, better known by his sobriquet of 'Kalāpī', or 'the Peacock', a poet of a subjective temperament.

Kanhaiyālāl Māṇiklāl Munshi (b. 1888), a prominent name in modern Indian life and letters—culture and humanism as well as politics and public affairs—is unquestionably the most outstanding novelist and general writer of Gujarati at the present day. His great historical novels, his social novels, his dramas, his essays and articles, and his other writings form quite a voluminous mass of literature, a good deal of which is easily of an enduring quality. A man of a very keen intellect and of great poetic sensibility, of a vivid imagination and a forceful power of expression, and actuated by a burning love of his country and its great past, K. M. Munshi is universally recognized as one of the greatest writers of Modern India, as he has been in the forefront of Indian political and cultural life. In the revival of Indian culture, the *Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan*, which is his great creation, is a very significant research institute in India both for scholars and for the people, for the rehabilitation of the Indian spirit in life and literature. Munshi has written historical novels (e.g. *Pṛthivī-vallabha*, *Jaya Sōmanāth* and a few others), social novels (like *Bāla-Prēmiyō* or 'Child Lovers', and a number of other ones), and dramas and farcical comedies ; and the present age of Gujarati literature can very well be described as the "Age of Kanhaiyālāl Munshi". Among writers of Gujarati, he can with his versatile creative genius, romantic as well as iconoclastic, enthusiastic as well as cynical, be mentioned with such names in Indian literature as Bankim Chandra Chatterji in Bengali, as Prēm Chand in Hindi, as Valatthol in Malayālam and as Subrahmaṇya Bhāratī in Tamil. Many of his novels are available in Hindi, and they should be translated into the various languages of India, and into English.

Dr. Ānand-Śaṅkar B. Dhruva (1869-1941), formerly Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, who is the author of works on Hindu religion and philosophy in Gujarati ; Diwān Bahādur K. H. Dhruva (1859-1938), who translated a number of Sanskrit dramas into Gujarati ; Sir Ramaṇbhāi M. Nīlakaṇṭha (1868-1928), who was an advocate of Western tendencies in life and literature—he was an ardent social reformer, and a member of the *Prārthanā-Samāj*, the Western Indian counter-part of the *Brāhmo-Samāj* of Bengal ; and Maṇilāl Nāthubhāi Dwivedī (1851-1898), who was a writer with conservative ideals :—these were among the great *prosateurs* of Gujarati during the last generation.

Navalrām was a humorist with the drama as his medium. The modern acting drama was started by Raṇchhōḍ-bhāī Uday-rām ; and Maṇilāl Nāthūbhāī Dwivedī, noted above as a prose-writer who sought to conserve the old ideals of Hindu life, was also a great dramatist as well as a poet. As in Hindi, the one-act play has come to the forefront in Gujarati, prominent writers of it being Umā-Śaṅkar Jōśī, Balvant-rāy Ṭhakōr, Poet Nānālāl, and Pushkar Chandaravākar. Jayanta Dalāl, mentioned before as a short-story writer, and Chandrāvan Mehtā are also two important dramatists of modern Gujarati.

The leading poets in Gujarati now are Prof. Balvant-rāy K. Ṭhakōr Sehnī (born 1869), a great innovator in metres ; Rām-nārāyaṇ Pāṭhak 'Śēsh' ; 'Śrī Sundaram' ; 'Snēha-raśmī' ; Umā-Śaṅkar Jōśī, mentioned above, who is also an essayist and a literary critic of great distinction, and a poet of fine sensibility, besides being one of the front-rank writers of short stories, and an acknowledged master in the field of the drama (one-act plays particularly) ; 'Śrīdharānī' ; 'Bādarāyaṇ' ; Mansukhlāl Jhavērī ; and Pūjālāl.

Three women writers are prominent in present-day Gujarati —Mrs. Līlāvati Munshi (wife of Kanhaiyālāl Munshi), and Vinōdinī Nīlakaṇṭha, who are novelists and general prose-writers of repute ; and Mrs. Hāmsā Mehtā, journalist and dramatist and leader of the Women's Movement, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Baroda University, whose translation of the *Hamlet* of Shakspeare is praised very highly.

Mahātmā Gāndhī (Mōhan-dās Karam-chānd Gāndhī : 1869-1948), the great architect of Free India, great as a religious as well as a political leader, who has been called "the Father of the Nation", was also a forceful writer in his mother-tongue Gujarati, as he was in English and Hindi. Mahātmā Gāndhī wrote an innumerable series of articles, notes and letters in Gujarati, besides three books on politics and on health. His style has been conspicuous for its simplicity and directness, terse and to the point, and a model of clarity, and fully expressive of his great ideals of love and charity and adherence to Truth without fear or favour. The *Gujarāt Vidyāpīṭh*, founded by him at Ahmedabad, is a great institution with its ideal of bringing about the moral and spiritual, economic and political, educational and cultural renaissance of India ; and it can be

mentioned with other institutions (though the ideals and methods may be different in some points) like the Ārya Samāj Guru-kula at Kangri and Rabindranath Tagore's Śānti-nikētan and Viśva-bhāratī at Bolpur. The *Vidyāpīṭh* did a signal service to Gujarati culture and literature. Among Mahātmā Gāndhī's personal followers, Mahādēva Dēśāi, Kiśōrilāl Maśrūvālā and Kākā Sāhib Kālēlkar are prose-writers of eminence.

J. K. Mēghāṇī has made fine collections of Gujarati folk-lyrics in several volumes (in *Ruḍhiyālī Rāt* and other works), which show one of the most attractive sides of the popular poetry in the language.

Translations from Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, Śarat Chandra Chatterji, and a good number of the other more prominent writers of present-day Bengal have been made into Gujarati, if only as presenting new and stimulating points of view in literature. A number of very capable writers have translated from Bengali into Gujarati, and we may mention Nārāyaṇ Hēma-chandra, Nagindās Parikh, Bhōgīlāl Gāndhī, Mahēndra Mēghāṇī, Jhavēr-chand Mēghāṇī, Ramaṇik Mēghāṇī, Ramaṇlāl Sōnī, Bachchubhāi Śukla, Viśvanāth Bhaṭṭ, Śrīkānta Trivēdī, Jayanta Dalāl, and Śrī-Kumār Jōśī, who is also an original dramatist on themes from Bengal and has dramatized in Gujarati some of Śarat Chandra Chatterji's novels. There has grown up during the last 50 to 60 years the closest cultural understanding between Bengal and Gujarat, not only in literature but also in art—in painting and other plastic arts, in drama and the dance ; and the trend of artistic expression of Modern India may be described as being more a Bengali-Gujarati composite, with some South Indian influences, than anything else.

The Gujaratis have been the great pioneers of India in business and industry, and have made the greatest contribution to the economic advancement of India. At the same time, they are a highly cultured people, with a real love of art and letters and a great good taste in these. Besides, they are quite proud of their language and its literature ; and with writers of power like Kanhaiyālāl Munshi and others at the present day, and with the traditions of the earlier poets, the language may be expected to develop its literature to a greater degree than before in a Free India, when the speakers as well as writers of the provincial national languages will become more and more alive to their responsibility.

PANJABI LITERATURE

As indicated before, the Panjab is divided into two separate language-areas, which, however, imperceptibly pass from one into the other : viz. Hindki (or Lahnda) in West Panjab, and Panjabi proper in East Panjab. The Eastern Panjab dialects developed a Literary Language which was the common fulfillment of the spoken dialects by the beginning of the 17th century, and this is now having a vigorous and a rich existence as the Modern Panjabi Language of Literature. But on the other hand, Hindki has remained a mere group of dialects, sometimes quite divergent from each other, and there is no common literary language binding them together. Panjab, particularly West Panjab, forms the gate-way to India from the West and the people had always to bear the brunt of foreign invasions, particularly when the Muslim Turks, Persians and Afghans started their wars of aggression and conquest from the 10th century A. D. Panjab has hardly had any respite for centuries. The times were not propitious for literature and culture of any sort. The mother-tongue was neglected, and learning in Sanskrit also dwindled, with the progressive Islamization of the people and the influx of Muslim ideas and of the Persian language and literature among the Hindus. The earlier writers neglected their mother-tongues, and took up ready-made the great Early Hindi speeches of Gangetic India in its various forms. Literature in the speech of the Panjab came into being on a respectable scale only from the end of the 16th century, when Panjabi was already in what may be called its "Middle" Period.

(1) Panjabi Literature : upto 1600

Barring a little folk-literature of songs, ballads and folk-tales current orally, there is no literature in the Hindki dialects, excepting that in the 16th century (c. 1535) a *Janam-Sākhī* or Biography of Guru Nānak was composed in a form of Hindki by one of his disciples, Bālā.

The oldest available specimens of poetry in the vernacular written by a poet of the Panjab are two devotional compositions attributed to Bābā Farīduddīn Ganj-shakar (1173-1266) of Mūltān and Pāk-pattan, but the language is not Panjabi of

any sort. The speech of the Panjab has always been dominated in literature by the Midland speech—by Nāgara or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa upto the 14th century, and then by Braj-bhasha, and finally by Hindustani (Khaṛī-Bōlī and Hindi-Urdu). The dialects of the Panjab and Sindh were written in different forms of the North-Western alphabet, a sister of the Nagari, known as *Laṇḍā*, one form of which is still in use (in writing, not in printing) among Sindhi merchants. In the 16th century under the Sikh Gurus, on the basis of this alphabet which is very like the Śāradā script of Kashmir, and with a strong influence of the Nagari, the *Gurmukhi Alphabet* was created in which the Sikhs write and print their scriptures and which is now claimed by the Sikhs as the only proper script for Panjabi. Panjabi literature may be said to have taken a fresh start from the 15th-16th century when Guru Nānak (1469-1538), a Hindu reformer who stressed on *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* both, like Kabīr, and who was also a great saint and devotee as well as constructive religious leader, founded the Sikh religion. But his compositions extolling God and exhorting people to a faith in God were not in pure Panjabi: they were rather in Old Hindi, Braj and the Delhi speech, mixed occasionally with Panjabi. The fifth Guru, Arjun, compiled about 1605 A. D. the poems of Nānak and his successors upto himself, together with the "Hindi" hymns by a number of *Bhakti* saints earlier than Nānak (like Kabīr, Rai Dās and others), into a book, as a sort of a mediaeval *R̥g-Vēda* from the Land of the Five Rivers, consisting of 3,384 hymns and 15,575 stanzas. This collection, with certain supplementary matters, forms the Sikh scriptures, the *Ādi Grantha* or *Guru Grantha* or *Grantha Sāhib*. It is a great book of mediaeval North Indian (Old Hindi) religious poetry; but strictly speaking, it is not in Panjabi. Guru Gōbinda Singh, the 10th or last Guru (1666-1708), and some of his contemporary poets wrote a number of religious works in verse, which are largely Puranic Hindu in spirit, and are mainly in Old Hindi, with the exception of the *Caṇḍī-dī-Vār*, which is in praise of Chaṇḍī or Pārvatī, the Great Mother, in her form of the War Goddess, and this is in Panjabi.

A second *Janam-sākhī* was composed by Sēwā Singh in Eastern Panjabi in 1588, and a third by Maṇī Singh (died 1737), which is also in Eastern Panjabi.

(2) Middle Panjabi Literature : 1600-1850

Panjabi literature started in a haphazard way in the 16th century. A poet named Dāmōdar of Jhang is said to have composed, during the reign of Akbar, a poem on the story of Hīr and Ranjhā in 1000 stanzas. The work is simple, but of a pedestrian character. But the 17th century was a great period for Panjabi. Muslim, and Hindu, as well as a few Sikh writers, wrote in Panjabi, the first group being by far the most prolific in producing good literature in the language. The best minds of the Panjab, however, favoured either Persian, or Sanskrit and Old Hindi. Mention may be made of the great Hindu Panjabi scholar and poet of Persian in the 17th century, Chandar-bhān of Lahore, whose *taxallus* or poetical sobriquet was *Barahman* (i.e. 'Brāhman'). He flourished about 1650, and he composed mostly Sufi poems and tracts in Persian. The Panjabi language during the 17th century came to be split up in three scripts, Perso-Arabic, Nagari and Gurmukhi.

Among 17th century writers was a Muslim poet named Abdullāh (1616-1666), whose *Bāra Anva* or "the Twelve Topics" in 9000 couplets is a treatise on the Islamic religion. The story of the Battle of Karbala was treated in a *Jang-nāma* by Muqbil (c. 1696 : some ascribe it to fifty years later, c. 1745). Muslim Sufi poets came to the forefront, and their compositions, entirely Indian and Panjabi in spirit and execution, form a very important part of Panjabi literature. Bullhē Shāh (1680-1758) is the most famous Sufi poet, whose *Kāfis*, or short poems of about 6 stanzas, are very much admired. A contemporary of his was Ali Haidar (1689-1776), who wrote a number of *Sī-harfīs*, poems of 30 stanzas, each stanza beginning with a letter of the Persian alphabet in the ordinary order of the letters.

In the 17th century, c. 1650, Jasōdā-Nandan wrote a short poem of 88 stanzas on an episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—the fight of Rāma's army with his two sons Lava and Kuśa, the *Lav-Kus-diā Pauṛiā*—a poem which reflects also the village life of the Panjab.

Guru-Dās wrote his 40 *Vārs* as a sort of pendant to the *Guru Grantha*, which are didactic poems, conveying moral teachings through stories and fables, written in a simple and natural style.

The rather thin stream of Panjabi literature continued through the 18th century. Guru Gōbind's Panjabi poems like the *Caṇḍī-dī-Vār* have been mentioned before. The Panjab has a number of romances of love, on which popular ballads appear always to have existed, and some of these by unknown bards and of no known date have been collected. Poets of the 18th and early 19th centuries treated these stories in long poems which form the special and characteristic works of Panjabi literature—"the Matter of the Panjab" in the true sense of the term (see before, pp. 96, 99, 100).

These stories refer to the romance of Rājā Risālū of Western Panjab, and his brother Pūran Bhagat whose story is reminiscent of the tragic story of Hippolytos the son of Theseus as in Euripides' tragedy. The Muslim Qādir Yār and the Hindu Kālīdās composed narrative poems on the theme of Pūran Bhagat, both during the first half of the 19th century (Qādir Yār, a court poet of the Sikh King of the Panjab Ranjīt Singh, also composed a *Mīrāj-nāma* or the Story of Muhammad's Ascent into Heaven, in 1831). The tragic love-story of Hīr and Ranjhā was treated in long poems by a number of poets. This story is believed to be a survival in Panjabi folk-literature of the Greek love-tale of Hērō and Leander—only in the Indian story it is the heroine Hīr (=Hērō) who died by drowning when going to meet her lover Ranjhā (=Leander) at night by swimming across a river. After Dāmōdar of the 16th century, Muqbil, a blind poet, composed a poem of 500 distichs on the same theme. But the most extensive and at the same time most popular poem on the Hīr-Ranjhā story is by Wāris Shāh, which was composed in 1766. Wāris Shāh is looked upon as the greatest poet of Panjabi before the modern age, judging from the extent as well as the popularity of his work. This also gives us a very beautiful and a detailed picture of Panjab village life in the frame-work of the story. There are other similar stories of love which are quite popular in Panjabi. There is, for instance, the story of Sahba and Mīrzā, a love tragedy, of which two versions exist, one by Pilū (late 17th century) and the other by Hāfiz Barkhurdār, probably a disciple of Pilū. The story of the fair Sōhṇī and her lover Mahivāl or 'the Buffalo-herd' (*Śōbhanikā* and *Mahiṣa-pāla*, to give the Sanskrit forms of these popular names) is the theme of a number of

late poems, the best of which is by Fazal Shāh of Lahore. The tragic love-story, again, of Sassī or Sasī and Punhū or Punnū, of Sindhī origin, has also various versions in Panjabi, that of Fazal Shāh being looked upon by some as the best. Another very popular version of the Sassī-Punhū story, by poet Sayyad Hāsham Shāh, a contemporary of King Ranjit Singh, in 500 verses, has been brought out in a careful critical edition in Gurmukhi characters by Professor Harnām Singh Shān of the Panjab University (2nd edition, 1959).

In the 18th century, Hamīd composed (1766-1776) a very popular *Jang-nāma* in 5620 lines, and there is considerable pathos in its depiction of the tragedy. The Perso-Arabic tale of Yūsuf and Zulaikhah, particularly as narrated by the Persian poet Nūruddin Jāmī, was treated in Panjabi in 2400 couplets in the Arabic *Hazaj* metre by Abdul Hakīm of Bahāwalpur (1803), and again by Ghulām Rasūl in 1873 (in 6,666 couplets) and by Habīb Ali in 1907 (in 18,000 couplets—quite a long poem for any language).

Poems on historical subjects dating from the 18th century are found, like, e. g. Nijābat's *Vār* or long narrative poem on the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh of Persia (1738-39). Its commencement is comic, though the poem is heroic and warlike. The fate of a young Hindu martyr Hakīkat Rāy (Haqīqat Rāi) who was cruelly put to death by being walled up alive by the order of a Muslim Governor because he would not abjure his religion (1734) made a great impression in the Panjab, and it was treated by a number of poets, Hindu and Muslim, beginning with Agra Sethi in 1790, and then by Kālidās.

Secular songs, and didactic poems and love lyrics, often with a Sufi colouring, are fairly numerous in Panjabi; and the following authors are well-known in this line of poetry: Arūr, Rāi, Īsar Dās, Kisan Singh Ārif, Hidāyatullāh and Muhammad Butā.

(3) Panjabi Literature : after 1850

Panjab came under the British in 1848, but its mediaeval outlook upon life continued for some decades, during which English learning slowly made its influence felt. The Muslim revival encouraged Urdu and the study of Arabic and Persian,

and the Hindu revival movements like the Ārya Samāj and the Sanātan Dharma, as well as (to a limited extent) the Brāhmo Samāj movements, and (to a still more limited manner) the rationalistic 'science-grounded' Dēva-Samāj movement which is now all but gone, strengthened the position of Hindi in the Nagari character, and re-established once again the study of Sanskrit among the Panjab Hindus, from the eighties of the last century. Only the Sikhs did a little study and writing of Panjabi in the Gurmukhi character. The Government and the colleges encouraged either exclusively or very largely Urdu only : in the law courts and government offices, after English it was all Urdu. A little Panjabi was recognized in the British Indian army.

The study of Panjabi came to be established in the University of the Panjab at Lahore and in the colleges as late as 1915, and this gave a new impetus to the revival of Panjabi and the creation of a modern literature in it. So the Modern Literature of Panjabi is one of the youngest in India, even younger than that of Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindi ; and the Partition of India with the establishment of Pakistan has given almost a crushing blow to the prospects of Panjabi literature in Western Panjab in the future, although Eastern Panjab with a large Sikh element is in a position to carry on the modern literary traditions. There is now an unseemly battle of languages in the Eastern Panjab between Panjabi and Hindi, with Urdu in the background. Officially, both Panjabi and Hindi have been recognized as the two languages of the State ; but the quarrel is unfortunately still raging, and quite unnecessarily over the script—Gurmukhi or Nagari—the Sikhs contending that only Gurmukhi and not Nagari is to be used in writing and printing Panjabi.

Modern Panjabi literature begins with the works of the Sikh poet Bhāī Vir Singh, Padma-bhūshaṇa (1872-1957). His *Rāṇā Sūrat Singh* (1905), a long narrative poem of 13,000 lines in a sort of blank verse (called *Srikhaṇḍī Chand*) of 20 morae, with the cæsure after the 11th, in 35 cantos, is an outstanding work in Panjabi. The story is romantic with an allegorical idea—the heroine Rāṇī Rāj Kaur stands for the soul, and the hero, her husband Rāṇā Sūrat Singh, represents the Godhead. The work is thus one of religious mysticism in its essence, and its general background is that of the *Ādi Grantha*. Vir Singh also wrote one of the earliest novels in Panjabi,

Sundarī (1897), which is a tragic story of Sikh heroism : he was quite a pioneer in this line too. His biography of Guru Nānak is a well-known modern classic of Panjabi (1928), as also is his biography of Guru Gōbind Singh (1925). He made very important contributions to the study of the *Granth Sāhib*, and of Sikh history and religion. He wrote also shorter poems and lyrics, some of which have been translated into English by Bhāi Pūran Singh (*Nargas ; Songs of a Sikh by Bhai Vir Singh* : London, 1924). Bhāi Vīr Singh was also a distinguished prose writer.

Pūran Singh (1882-1932) has been called "the Tagore of Panjabi". He is well-known to readers of Modern Indian Literature in English translation by his *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel* (London : Dent), and *Unstrung Beads* (London, Dent), his versions of a number of his own poems and of portions from the *Guru-Grantha*. He is a very human poet, full of profound fellow-feeling for man, deep emotion and sensibility and an intense love of the beautiful and the good in Indian village life. There is a considerable amount of English influence on his poetry. Collections of his important writings in Panjabi appeared as early as 1923 and 1925. As an essayist of great power, Pūran Singh (in his *Kulē Lēkh*, 1929) has his own place in Panjabi prose. He was largely influenced by Rabindranath Tagore.

Some other important poets have appeared in Panjabi contemporaneously with Bhāi Vīr Singh. Kirpā Singh (1879-1939) is well-known for his long romantic poem with a historical backgronnd, the *Lakṣmī Dēvī* (1920-21), a poem also full of adventure. His language has been praised for its simplicity, and for being true to the speech of the people, and his poetic qualities of imagination and his power of nature-description are of a really high order. Dhanī Rām Chātrik (1876-1954) is a poet of nature—his *Himāla*, *Gaṅgā*, and *Rāt* are noteworthy, as well as a poem *Kōrā Kādir*, where we have his passionate cry against the division of humanity through diversity of creed.

One of the most popular poets of Panjabi at the present day is Mōhan Singh (also known by his former pen-name 'Māhir'), who has been described as occupying "the central place in Panjabi letters to-day". He is one of the pioneers of a modern outlook in life and things in Panjabi. Other poets of note are

Prītam Singh Safīr, and Śrīmatī Amritā Prītam. The new spirit in Panjabi literature is also well represented by Sant Singh Sēkhōn, Gōpāl Singh Dardī, Kartār Singh Duggal, Kulwant Singh Virk, Dēvīndar Satyārthī and Surindar Singh Narulā. The last is more representative of the new trends in his works of fiction, like *Pōē Pūttar* ('Father and Son'), relating to Panjabi life in Amritsar, *Raṅg Mahal* (the story of a middle-class family), *Nilī Bār* (depicting conditions in West Panjab, with influx of Sikh settlers from the East among the local peoples) and *Lōk Duśman* (treating of the struggle between landlords and peasants in East Panjab).

There is a handful of Panjabi writers in other departments of modern literature, like the novel and the short story, the drama and general prose writing. English influence is manifest everywhere. Early in this century, the drama in Panjabi came to the front, and I. C. Nanda and Gurbakhsh Singh came forward with a number of plays, of which the former's *Subhadrā* (1920), and the latter's *Pūrab tē Pacham* ('East and West') and *Nawā Canam* ('New Light') are social plays with criticisms of modern ways and with a study of conflicts of ideals. Kirpā Singh, the poet, also wrote a historical play, *Ranjīt Singh* (1923).

Nānak Singh is the most popular novelist and short-story writer. His writings all have a great sympathy for the poor and the down-trodden. He is quite a voluminous writer, with some 100 short stories to his credit. Kartār Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh are other story-writers, the former being more psychological, and the latter full of reforming zeal. Gurbakhsh Singh is also a writer of emotional prose. Other prose writers of note are Tējā Singh, and Har-Dyāl Singh.

The tragedy of the Partition of India, as a result of which the people of West Panjab and those of East Bengal suffered from unheard of economic, social and moral distress, has left its mark on recent Panjabi literature. Practically the entire Hindu and Sikh population had to leave West Panjab, abandoning their hearth and home and most of their belongings, to face the sufferings and indignities and moral *débaclé* which displaced Refugees have to suffer from. Some of Śrīmatī Amritā Prītam's poems on the Partition and the cruelties and sufferings it entailed are among the most poignant things in Panjabi literature. Nānak

Singh, Kulwant Singh Virk and Kartār Singh Duggal also wrote some telling novels on the Partition and its effects.

The people of the Panjab were more practical and straightforward rather than intellectual and subtle. Their upper classes became interested in the study of Persian, after the country was annexed to the Ghaznavi empire in the 11th century, and latterly Urdu (and to some extent Hindi); and Sanskrit and Hindu culture had a tremendous set-back, until the starting of the Ārya Samāj Movement during the last two decades of the 19th century. Besides, the English school and the University brought in a fresh and a necessary modern outlook. Urdu and Hindi had always kept Panjabi in the shade, but Panjabi is trying to stand on its own legs by developing her own literary inheritances, as well as by translation from other languages. English classics like some of the plays of Shakspeare have been rendered into Panjabi. A number of Sanskrit and Hindi and Urdu books are also available in Panjabi versions. After Urdu and Hindi, Bengali among the modern Indian languages has been best represented by translations into Panjabi. Some of Śarat Chandra Chatterji's novels, and some by other writers like Bibhūti-Bhūṣaṇ Banerji, Tārā-Śaṅkar Banerji and Prabōdh-Kumār Sānyal, have been rendered into Panjabi, though not directly but through Hindi. The influence of Tagore appears to have come to Panjab more through his English publications, and then to some extent through Hindi. (Incidentally, it may be said, that the stories of Sikh saints and martyrs, like Guru Gōbind Singh, and Bandā Bahādur, and others, made a very deep impression on the mind of Tagore, and inspired him to write some of his most spirited ballads and poems on these themes in Bengali).

Panjabi is suffering from a severe handicap in this that it has to cope with two powerful rivals in its own home-area—Urdu and Hindi. The economic and social consequences of the Partition have been disastrous for the people of West Panjab. Thousands and thousands of displaced Panjabis have been forced to seek homes in other parts of India, where once settled they will gradually have to abandon their language and take to Hindi or some of the more important local speeches. In the matter of ideas and values for modern life, Panjabi has not yet got its proper chance; but as the speech of a virile and resourceful people, it will in the not distant future fully come to its own.

KASHMIRI LITERATURE

Kashmiri is one of the Aryan languages of the Union of India, and it is an interesting and important language in many ways, although the number of people speaking it is not very large—near about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions only. In the first instance, Kashmiri has a fine literature, particularly rich in little lyrics of life and nature, besides compositions in the mystic vein both Brahmanical (Sivite) and Islamic (Sufi). It has got a large number of long poems, both of Sanskrit and of Persian inspiration, and there is in present-day Kashmiri quite a noteworthy literary upsurge.

As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic Section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the language of the *R̥g-Veda* but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic Age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas. Following the Brahmans, the Buddhists also came to Kashmir, and Kashmir formed a part of the Maurya Empire of Asoka; and beyond Kashmir, speakers of the Indo-Aryan dialect from North-Western India settled round about what is now Khotan (*Kustana* in Sanskrit). In this way, Kashmir, inspite of a Dardic substratum in its people and in its speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa from the Midland and from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements.

Throughout the entire part of the first thousand years after Christ, Kashmir was within the orbit of Sanskrit, and Kashmiri scholars, particularly during the second half of these thousand years, made their important contributions to

Sanskrit literature ; and the names of Dāmōdara, Abhinavagupta, Kalhaṇa, Bilhaṇa and others are pre-eminent in the history of Sanskrit literature. Kashmir also developed its *Trika* system of Śaiva Tantric philosophy, which had points of contact with the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamil land, far away in the South.

It is presumed that, before the development of the Kashmiri language proper (which, as in the case of the other Aryan languages of India, took place after 1000 A. D.), there were a Prakrit and an Apabhraṃśa stage of Kashmiri. But there are no specimens of what may be called a Kashmiri *Prākṛit* and a Kashmiri *Apabhraṃśa*. Only half a line in three words of what may be described as Kashmiri Apabhraṃśa has been found in Kalhaṇa's Sanskrit History of Kashmir, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and this half a line goes back to the first half of the 10th century A. D. It runs thus : *Raṅgassa Hēlu diṇṇa* (or *diṇṇu*), "the village of Hēlu has been given to Raṅga", and this in modern Kashmiri would be *Rangas Hyul^u dyun^u*.

The early history of Kashmiri as a language, together with a study of its literature, has not yet been fully taken up. In this connexion we have to mention specially the pioneer work of Sir George Abraham Grierson ; and one or two Kashmiri scholars of eminence, like Professor Prithwinath Pushp (Poshp), are now collecting materials and initiating a proper study. The history of Kashmiri literature, as of the language, may be divided into the following three periods, paralleling what we have in most other languages of India, both Aryan and Dravidian :

- (1) Old Kashmiri, from 1200 to 1500 A. D.
- (2) Middle Kashmiri, from 1500 to 1800 A. D.
- (3) New or Modern Kashmiri, after 1800 A. D.

Old Kashmiri presented a language with a very full phonetic character, but from Middle Kashmiri times there were some very extensive vowel-changes, through *Umlaut* and other sound-laws being operative, which changed the nature of Old Kashmiri and made it almost a different language.

Prior to the Old Kashmiri period, we have evidence of *Indo-Aryan* Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa both being used for literary compositions by Kashmiri scholars, side by side with Sanskrit. Thus there is a work in Sanskrit by the great Sanskrit

scholar, Abhinava-gupta (c. 950 to 1025 A. D.), the *Tantra-sāra*, in which at the end of each verse section (*Āhnika*), there are two verses in some kind of Apabhraṃśa—we have 76 verses in all in this language, but it does not show any specific Kashmiri character. Then, again, there is another work known as the *Mahārtha-mañjarī* by Gōrakṣa-nātha alias Mahēśwarānanda, which consists of 71 distichs in Prakrit (it is not the language of Kashmir but is Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit), and this work has been found in two recensions—both of which have been published, one from Srinagar in Kashmir and the other from Trivandrum in Kerala. This work in all likelihood belongs to a period before 1200 A. D. and may be immediately after Abhinava-gupta. Works like these show the presence of a strong tradition of composing in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa in Kashmir of a thousand or 800 years ago.

(1) Old Kashmiri : 1200-1500 A. D.

The earliest compositions so far available in Kashmiri would appear to be the 94 four-line stanzas found in a Sanskrit work called the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* ('Illumination of the Highest Attainment or Discipline') by Śitikanṭha Ācārya.

Grierson, following a Kashmiri scholar, thought that this work belonged to the fourth quarter of the 15th century ; but a closer study of the subject-matter as well as the language, with some internal evidence from the name and the title of the author, will go to show that the work is much older. The subject-matter of these verses is highly abstruse, dealing with the Śaiva Tantric philosophy as current in Kashmir as its most popular faith, and it belongs to the period of religion and thought of the times of Abhinava-gupta and his followers. Without a commentary it will not be possible to understand the inner meaning of the verses. Grierson made a linguistic study of these 94 stanzas, but still much remains to be done. It is easy to see that the language here is something very archaic when compared with Modern Kashmiri—it is like Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) beside Modern English. It is even more ancient than the language of the poems of Lalla Didi of the 14th century as preserved in old manuscripts. The position of these verses in the history of the Kashmiri language is analogous to that of the *Caryā-padas* in Old Bengali. Prof. Pushp, who

agrees that the work may go back to the 13th century, or even earlier, has discovered another work of unknown date, the *Chumma-Sampradāya*, giving 74 verses, which in their language and in their subject-matter also belong to the age of the *Mahānaya-prakāśa*.

These two works give us the oldest specimens of Kashmiri, and they in all likelihood belong to a period before 1300. Next we are on slightly surer ground with regard to the author. In the 14th century, we have in Kashmir a great Sivite woman-saint, Lalla Didi or Lal Dēd, whose compositions, in a modern Kashmiri form, are in the mouths of all Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, and they represent the oldest specimens of Kashmiri which still have been continued down to our times by oral tradition. Lalla Didi was born in 1335 A. D. during the rule of the last Hindu King of Kashmir, Udayana-dēva, and she passed away sometime between 1383 and 1386. She had a very unhappy married life, neglected by her husband and ill-treated by her mother-in-law, and she became a *Sannyāsinī*, moving about the country, and singing her little poems of mystic perception of Śiva, the Supreme. It is said that she met Shāh Hamdānī who was the first great Sufi saint and preacher of Islam in Kashmir, and they were both mutually appreciative of each other's mystic qualities. The Kashmir Muslims consider her to have been converted to Islam by this contact with Shāh Hamdānī, and she is described as Lal 'Arīfa, and the Hindus called her *Lalla Yōgīśvari*. Some 110 poems of this type by Lalla have been edited and translated by Sir George Abraham Grierson (Royal Asiatic Society of London, 1923), and some more have been collected by others.

During the second period of Old Kashmiri, from after Lalla's time to 1500 A. D., we have another great mystic poet in Kashmir, a Muslim saint named Shāh Nūruddīn, or as he is called by the Hindus, Nand Ryosh or Nanda Rishi. He was born in 1377 and passed away in 1440. Nūruddīn is held in great respect by both Hindus and Muslims, and he became a sort of a patron-saint for Kashmir Muslims. His verses and sayings known as *Śruks* give expression to his profound faith in and love for God, and his catholicity of outlook; and they are also, besides, didactic in their nature. These verses have been collected in the form of a book called the

Rishi-nāmah or *Nūr-nāmah*. A good proportion of this collection is perhaps spurious.

During the greater part of 15th century, Kashmir was fortunate in having one of the most enlightened men of his age as her ruler. He was Zainul Abidīn, who was born in 1401, and ruled Kashmir from 1420 to 1470. He was of native Kashmiri origin, and he was a great administrator and patron of arts and letters as well as a man of singularly progressive and benevolent ideas, to whom Kashmir owed a great deal of her prosperity during mediaeval times. He himself knew both Sanskrit and Persian, and encouraged the Hindu religion in its philosophy and its rituals, and repaired Hindu shrines. The artistic crafts of Kashmir were fully developed by him, and their fame spread outside Kashmir. He gathered round him a number of poets and writers in both Persian and Sanskrit as well as in Kashmiri. We can make mention of the following Kashmiri poets who adorned his court: Uttha-sōma, who composed a series of lyrics in Kashmiri, besides a biography of Zainul Abidīn, and a treatise on music called the *Mānaka*; an unknown poet who wrote the *Bāṇāsura-vadha*, the first narrative poem so far known in Kashmiri; Yōdha-bhaṭṭa, who wrote a biography of his patron, the *Jaina-carita*, and a drama also on his patron, the *Jaina-prakāśa*; and there was also Bhaṭṭa-avatāra who was a distinguished Persian scholar and who composed another work on this royal patron of letters, in Kashmiri, the *Jaina-vilāsa*. These biographical and panegyrical works in Kashmiri now appear to have been lost. Zainul Abidīn anticipated Emperor Akbar in many ways. The *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, which gives the history of Kashmir upto 1150 A. D., was continued by two Sanskrit scholars under the inspiration of King Zainul Abidīn. The Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* was adapted into Persian for the first time by Mullā Ahmad, who also translated the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa into Persian; and Paṇḍit Śrīvara similarly adapted the Persian poet Jāmī's romantic poem *Yūsuf-Zulaikha* into Sanskrit.

The 15th century in this way saw the transformation of the Kashmiri people, in an atmosphere of Sufi-istic Islam which was not at all iconoclastic but was appreciative of the current Brahmanical Śaiva mysticism of Kashmir, into a predominantly Muslim people. The language, as it can be expected, began

to undergo very great changes during this first period of Kashmiri literature, and was moving towards Modern Kashmiri.

(2) Middle Kashmiri Period : 1500 to 1800 A. D.

This period roughly falls into three stages. We have the period of Kashmiri Sultāns upto 1586 A. D., when Kashmir came under the Moguls, being conquered by Akbar. During the first half of the 16th century Kashmir was ruled by the kings of Zainul Abidin's family ; and from 1555, four Muslim Sultāns of Chak dynasty ruled over Kashmir, upto 1586. From 1586 to 1748, we have the Mogul period in the mediaeval history of Kashmir. Finally, from 1748, when Kashmir was conquered by the Afghans under Ahmad Shāh Abdali, we have the Afghan period of Kashmir, which came down to about 1820. By that time the modern period started in Kashmir.

During the Middle Kashmiri period, we have the continued development of the Kashmiri language and its literature, and it came very largely under the umbrage of Persian. Persian replaced for the masses of the Kashmiri people the Sanskrit language, and the Muslim religion also became fully established, but the tendency to bring about a harmony of Hindu thought and Sufism continued, both among the upper classes and among the masses.

In the 16th century a very remarkable poetess came into the field of Kashmiri literature. She was Hubb Khātun, or as she is popularly known among the present-day Kashmiris, Habba Khōtūn. She was a village girl of great beauty and poetic sensibility, whose original name was *Zun* ("Moon-Light" —Prakrit *Jonhā*, Sanskrit *Jyōtsnā*). Married to an ordinary villager, uneducated and uncultured, who did not appreciate her talent, her life was very unhappy, and she had also a mother-in-law who constantly bullied her. But she had some education in Persian, and she was a talented singer with a beautiful voice ; besides, she could compose popular lyrics in Kashmiri known as *Lol* ("Songs of Yearning"). King Yūsuf Shāh Chak of Kashmir (1579 to 1586) saw her in her native place and was captivated by her, and the King married Habba Khōtūn after getting her divorced from her husband. Her new name in Arabic, *Hubb*, meant "Love." She had only a few years of happy married life with

her royal husband. But, after the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar, King Yūsuf Shāh was taken away from Kashmir and was never allowed to return. Habba Khōtūn had to pass the rest of her life in separation from her beloved husband, for 20 years, living virtually like a hermitess. She died about the age of 55. Habba Khōtūn is one of the most popular poetesses of Kashmiri, and her place as a writer of exquisite lyrics of love and life is in the forefront of Kashmiri literature. In Kashmiri literature, there are three eminent poetesses who are the glory not only of Kashmiri literature but of Indian literature as well : they are Lal Ded of the 14th century, Habba Khōtūn of the 16th century, and finally Araṇī-māl of the second half of the 18th century.

Among the more important writers of Kashmiri during the Mogul and Afghan periods, mention may be made of the following :—

Khawājah Habībullah Naushahri, who died in 1617, wrote a series of beautiful lyric poems in Kashmiri ;

The Hindu poet Sāhib Kaul, who lived during the time of Jahāngīr, wrote the *Kṛṣṇa-avatāra* and the *Janam-Carita*, both on Hindu Puranic themes ;

The poetess Rūpa-bhavanī (1624-1720) wrote a number of religious poems : her language, as that of a Hindu religious writer, was highly Sanskritized ;

Mullā Fākhir, who died about the close of the 18th century, composed songs and odes.

We have to mention specially the third great Kashmiri writer of love-lyrics, Araṇī-māl (the name means 'a Garland of yellow Roses'). She lived during the second half of the 18th century. She was the wife of a Kashmiri Brahman named Munshi Bhavanīdās Kachrū who was a distinguished Persian scholar and author. Araṇī-māl's married life was unhappy, as in the case of Lal Ded and Habba Khōtūn. She was deserted by her husband because of his love for other women. The unhappy wife poured forth her heart in a series of most poignant and at the same time most exquisite poems of love in Kashmiri which are among the most popular and most universal compositions in the language. Araṇī-māl spent her life of frustration in composing her beautiful poems on love and on the beauty of nature. Her little lyrics, with their *abandon* and profound yearning for her

husband, and charming imagery and lovely language redolent with the beauty and the fragrance of flowers, conform with similar lyrics of Habba Khōtūn (and with a few others from other poets of Kashmiri), and form some of the most exquisite flowers in the garden of Indian poetry which are comparable with the finest lovepoems in any language.

In the 18th century, there was another great Hindu poet in Kashmiri, Prakāśa-rāma (also known as Divākara-Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa) who was a contemporary with Rājā Sukh-jīwan Mall, a Hindu Nāzīr or Governor of Kashmir under the Afghans about 1760. Prakāśa-rāma wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kashmiri, known as the *Rāmāvatāra-carita*, with a sequel *Lava-Kuśa-Yuddha-Carita*. (This work has been edited in Roman transliteration with an English summary by Sir George Abraham Grierson, and published from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1930; and it was first published from Srinagar in Persian characters in 1910). It consists of 1786 stanzas, some in the two-line Persian *Hazaj* metre and the rest in the native four-line accented metre of Kashmiri.

Mīr Abdullāh Baihaqī (died 1807) composed a volume of poems known as *Koshir-'Aqa'id* (a narrative *masnavī*), besides a religious poem, the *Mukhtasar-Waqāyah*.

Another Hindu poet of this period, who wrote during the early years of 19th century, was Gaṅgā-Prasād, who composed a religious work in Kashmiri verse—the *Saṁsāra-māyā-mōhajāla-sukha-duḥkha-carita* (or "the Account of the Joys and Sorrows of this World of Illusion and Net of Infatuation.")

During the 18th century and the earlier part of the 19th century, a number of Kashmiri poets wrote in imitation of Persian narrative poems, and also adapted many of the Persian classics into Kashmiri. In this way, the Arabic and Persian love-stories, like those of Yūsuf-Zulaikha, Khusrau-Shīrīn and Lailā-Majnūn became completely accepted and naturalized in the literature of Kashmir. Some popular romantic stories from the Panjab also became the common property of the masses in Kashmir.

(3) Modern Kashmiri Literature : after 1800 A. D.

In 1819 the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh of Lahore conquered Kashmir from the Afghans and ended Afghan rule which had begun from 1748. This whole period of Afghan domination

was one of nightmare for the Kashmiri people, as the Afghan governors from Kabul came only to plunder and ill-treat the unfortunate people. The intervention of the Sikhs from the Panjab who had grown into a strong power was sought by many people in Kashmir, particularly the Hindus, and Kashmir became a part of the Sikh State, being administered by governors from Lahore upto the year 1848.

This linking up of Srinagar with Lahore brought in immediately a reorientation of Kashmir towards India, like what existed in the pre-Muslim periods and also under the Moguls. The Persian language continued its influence as before on Kashmiri, as Persian was also the official language with the Sikhs. In 1848 Jammu and Kashmir became one State under the rule of the Dogra Rajput dynasty from Jammu, and in many respects the Hindus of Kashmir now came to be in a better situation than before.

Through the strong influence of Persian during all these centuries from the 1500 onwards, Kashmiri had developed a quantitative meter in the Persian style, side by side with the native Kashmiri meter of strong stresses which still characterizes popular poetry. In vocabulary, in the common epithets and in phrases and imageries, the Kashmiri language, like Urdu in India, came entirely under the spell of Persian; but Kashmiri nevertheless preserved a good deal of its native character.

The modern period for Kashmiri begins from the beginning of the 19th century, with the establishment of the Sikh rule. Gradually influences of Urdu and then English came to have their play in the evolution of Kashmiri literature, and new ideas and new styles in thought and letters became slowly established.

The Modern Period of Kashmiri literature has been divided into three sub-periods or stages (by Professor Jialal Kaul) as follows :—

(a) The First Stage—roughly from 1800 to 1880 (or, rather, from 1819 to 1879). This was dominated by the Muslim poet Mahmūd Gāmī who died in 1855, and by the Hindu poet Paramānand who died in 1879. This may be described as something like a "Classic Age" for Modern Kashmiri, and a number of fine works under Persian as well as Sanskrit inspiration and influence were composed by poets, both Hindu

and Muslim, who are held in general esteem as masters of modern Kashmiri literature during the 19th century.

(b) The Second Stage, from 1880 to 1913, ended with the death of one of the great poets of Modern Kashmiri, Wahhāb Parē. This Stage was comparatively barren in literature, but the influence of English and Urdu came in. European scholars like Karl Friedrich Burkhard and Sir George Abraham Grierson began an intensive study of the Kashmiri language, in both describing it fully and treating it historically. Both these scholars published a number of important Kashmiri texts—Grierson published four classics of Kashmiri by Hindu writers, and Burkhard brought out an edition of Mahmūd Gāmī's romantic poem of *Yūsuf-wa-Zulaikha*. Then through modern education, the Kashmiri *intelligentsia* (particularly among the Kashmiri Brahmans) became once more alive to the beauties of their mother-tongue. But Kashmiri was suffering (and is still suffering) from a great handicap, in not possessing a suitable alphabet—it is now generally written in the Perso-Arabic script which is very unsuitable for the genius of the language, and the old Śaradā alphabet, which is confined to the Kashmiri Brahmans, represents an archaic tradition in its orthography, which could not be adapted to modern times inspite of the scientific endeavours of modern scholars like Īśwar Kaul and Sir George Abraham Grierson. But nevertheless, many Kashmiris finally discovered the beauty and importance of their language and its literature both in its learned compositions and in the popular songs. The main languages of the State of Jammu and Kashmir are Kashmiri, Dogri with Hindi, and Tibetan in Ladakh, but the official languages are English and Urdu, and Kashmiri in its own home is still in the background.

(c) We have the Recent Stage in the Modern Period of Kashmiri literature, from 1913 onwards.

During the First Stage of the Modern Period, Mahmūd Gāmī was a prolific writer in Kashmiri, and wrote his fine metrical romances from the Persian like *Yūsuf-wa-Zulaikha*, *Lailā-Majnūn* and *Khusrau-Shīrīn*. He was a poet endowed with a fine descriptive and narrative quality, and he was also famous as the writer of a large number of *ghazals* and other poems.

Maqbūl Shāh composed his *Gulrez*, a narrative poem on a love-theme borrowed from the Persian. Maqbūl Shāh also wrote a satirical account of Kashmir peasant life known as the *Gurist-nāmah*.

Pandit Nanda-rāma alias Paramānanda (1791-1879) is regarded as one of the greatest poets of Kashmir. He was born in the village of Maṭan where he spent all his life and served as a *Paṭwārī* or petty revenue officer. He was influenced by both Lalla and Nūruddīn or Nand Rishi. Taking note of the devotional and mystic aspect of his poetic genius, the Muslim writers of Kashmir have described Paramānanda as the "Sanā'ī of Kashmir," comparing him with the great Persian poet of that name. Under the pen-name of *Gharīb*, he composed also some Persian *ghazals*, but most of his narrative poems are on themes of the Sanskrit *Purāṇa*. His language was rather Sanskritized, treating as his poems were of the *Līlā* or "Sports", that is the holy acts of divinities like Kṛishṇa and Śiva. His bigger works are *Rādhā-svayaṃvara*, *Sudāmā-carita*, and the *Śiva-lagan*. In this line of religious narratives, he was followed by other Hindu poets.

Paramānanda's friend was Lakshmaṇ Jū. He contributed some episodes in Paramānanda's big work *Rādhā-svayaṃvara*. He was also the author of *Nala-Damayantī*, which is an extensive and rather pedestrian work on the story from the *Mahābhārata*. Besides, he composed quite a large number of *ghazals* and short poems in Kashmiri.

Kṛishṇa Rāzdān (or Rājānaka) was another distinguished Hindu poet of this period. A disciple of Paramānanda, he wrote in beautiful Kashmiri, and he is pre-eminent both in his descriptions of Nature and in the musical quality of his verse. His most important work is *Śiva-pariṇaya* (or 'the Wedding of Śiva') in 1915 four-line stanzas (edited and published from Calcutta by Sir George Abraham Grierson in 1924, in the reformed Nagari script devised for Kashmiri, with a Sanskrit *chāyā* by Mm. Pandit Mukundarāma Śāstrī).

There is another Hindu classic of Kashmiri, the *Kṛṣṇāvatāra-Līlā* (published in 1928 by Grierson from Calcutta in the Roman character with an English translation). In the work itself, the name of the author has been given as Dīna-nātha. But he has not been identified—the author appears to have composed this poem during the first half of the 19th century.

It is in 1178 four-line stanzas, and the *Bhāgavatā-Purāṇa* stories about Kṛishṇa have been beautifully treated in this poem.

Waliullāh Mattū wrote a lyric romance called *Himāl-ta-Nāgrāy* ('Jasmine-Garland and Snake-Prince'), based on a popular Kashmiri folk- or fairy-tale, and Mattū's poem was composed probably in the late 19th century. The narrative portions are by Waliullāh, and there are lyrics composed by another poet named Saifuddīn Zarif. The songs and the narrative fit in very well with each other, and the work is very popular.

Abdul Wahhāb Parē was another great Kashmiri writer of the Modern Period. He was born in 1845 and died in 1913. He made an adaptation from the Persian into Kashmiri of the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, and he translated the *Akbar-nāmah* which is a historical work in Persian relating to the wars in Afghanistan. He also wrote a number of short stories, didactic as well as relating to love, and he composed large number of smaller poems on various subjects as well.

With Wahhāb Parē's death, the older period of Kashmiri literature may be said to have ended. There were, however, poets in the older tradition, of whom the following names could be mentioned :

Rasūl Mir, the author of a number of beautiful songs and *ghazals* ; Azīzullāh Haqqānī, a poet ; and besides a number of Sufī mystic poets like Qalandar Shāh, Abdul Ahad Nāzim, Mohiuddīn Miskīn, Khwājah Akram Rahmān Dar, and Maulavī Siddiqullāh (died 1930) who translated the *Sikandar-nāmah* of the great Persian poet of the 12th century, Nizāmī.

There was also Ramazān Bāṭh, who wrote the most popular version of the story of *Akh-nandan* or 'the only Son'. It is an old Hindu religious tale about the loving parents of an only son being compelled by a religious vow to put him to death and even cook his flesh as an offering to a religious mendicant (*Yōgī*) who demanded this sacrifice. But afterwards the son was restored to life after the parents' devotion was tested in this way. Several poets composed on this theme from the end of the 19th century. Ramazān Bāṭh lived half a century ago, and composed near about the year 1900 this very beautiful and touching poem in simple and racy

Kashmiri which has been highly praised by a well-known scholar and literary man like Sri Nanda-lāl Ambaradār. We have poems on the same theme also by Ahad Zargar, Samad Mīr and Ali Wānī. But Ramazān Baṭh's work remains the best.

Rahmān Dar is the author of a very popular poem called the *Manch-Tuluir* or 'the Honey-Bee'. The old line of mystic tradition in poetry passed on to a number of modern mystic poets like Azīz Darvēsh, Wahhāb Khān and Mīrzā Kāk.

The most recent period of Kashmiri literature was inaugurated by the poet Pīrzādah Ghulām Ahmad Mahjūr (born 1885), who became famous as a poet of Nationalism and National Reconstruction even before 1938 when there started a great Nationalist Movement in Kashmir. The desire for the uplift of the people now became very noticeable, in addition to the continuance of the old tradition of both mystic poetry and passionate love poetry. Mahjūr has been in the forefront of Kashmiri literature and language, and he can be very properly described as the inaugurator of the new trends in Kashmiri literature. His poems are lyrical and patriotic as well as on political subjects. The educated classes, along with the masses, all sing songs composed by him. The impress of the beautiful Nature of Kashmir is found in his writings. Another great contemporary Kashmiri poet and writer, Zinda Kaul, known as "Masterji", has said about Mahjūr: "Besides being very musical and correct in the matter of the meter and rhyme, Mahjūr is perhaps the first to introduce into Kashmiri the ideas of patriotism, human freedom, love of men and women, unity of Hindus and Muslīma, dignity of work and respect for manual labour, and Nature, scenery, flowers, etc." His poems have been sold in a hundred thousand copies. Some of his poems describing the simple charm of the women and maidens of Kashmir are beautiful in themselves.

With Mahjūr we are to mention the Hindu poet Zinda Kaul (born 1884). He is a social reformer, and is also a mystic, and he writes in popular language. One of his verse compositions, the *Samran* ("Remembrance") has been awarded a Sahitya Academy Prize from New Delhi in 1956. He has brought in new rime schemes and rhythm patterns in Kashmiri; and among his poems, "Ferry-man lead Thou me across" is a popular patriotic prayer.

Among other innovators in Kashmiri literature during this Stage, we may mention specially Nandalāl Kaul, poet and dramatist, who wrote a number of dramas, adapting or translating from Hindi and Urdu. *Satach Kahwath* (or 'the Touch Stone of Truth'), *Rāmun Rāj* (or 'the Golden Age of Rāma'), *Dayālāl* and *Prahlād Bhagat* are among recent note-worthy dramas by Nandalāl in Kashmiri. Māna-Jū Attār has made a Kashmiri verse translation of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. Paṇḍit Dayārām Ganjū has didactic and other poems in Kashmiri, and his little book of advice to the young people—*Ghar Vyex-māl*—is very popular.

Paṇḍit Nārāyan Khār of Maṭan is another poet who has rendered into beautiful Kashmiri the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The treatment of social life and social reform is also coming into vogue in Kashmiri literature. We have also other poets like Muhammad Ghulām Hasan Bēgh Arīf who is a man of science, a zoologist. He is a believer in the greatness of the Destiny of Man, and one of his popular poems is *Namāz-e-Janāza* or 'the Prayer for the Dead'.

The most note-worthy poets of present-day Kashmiri are, among others, the following :

Abdul Ahmad Āzād ; Dīna-nāth Nādim ; Rahmān Rāhī, born 1925, who has been awarded the Delhi Sahitya Academy Prize in 1962 for his book of poems the *Naurōz-i-Saba*, "with a wide range of form and technique", which is "remarkable for its bold experimentation in poetic technique and freshness of imagery" ; Mīr Kāmil ; Chālā Rasūl Nazki ; Abdul Haqq Barq ; and Nūr Muhammad Rōshan ; besides "Prēmī", "Majbūr" and "Almast". Western literary forms are being introduced into Kashmiri : for example, the sonnet by Dīna-nāth Nādim, and free verse by Kāmil and several other poets. Dīna-nāth Nādim is a revolutionary in literature, with a sympathy for the suffering masses forcefully expressed in his writings. In a song-drama, *Bambur Yambarzal*, Nādim has treated an old folk-tale of Kashmir in a modern way dealing with modern problems. Several song-dramas or operas were written by Nūr Muhammad Rōshan, who, like Dīna-nāth Nādim and Kāmil, has employed the free verse.

"Prēmī" has essayed the various types of Kashmiri folk-poetry in a modern style, giving a sympathetic view of the life

of the people and praising the dignity of labour. Kāmil is a great inspirer of the modern spirit through his various compositions.

The essay and other prose is also being developed by present-day Kashmiri writers, and some of them are also writing in English, Urdu and Hindi, in addition to Kashmiri, like Professor Jialāl Kaul, Nanda-lāl Ambardār and Professor Prthwīnāth Pushp.

Kashmiri has a very note-worthy literature of popular poetry, and the Kashmiris are a singing people. Their songs are redolent with the beauty and freshness and fragrance of the Kashmir landscape. Some of these have been published by enthusiasts of folk-lore, and here and there in travel-books and other works on Kashmir, we have specimens of these popular poems. Kashmir folk-tales have been collected and translated by foreign scholars like J. Hinton Knowles and Sir Aurel Stein. Some of the folk-tales as mentioned before are being treated in song-dramas by modern Kashmiri poets. The Kashmiri also has a sense of humour, and there are popular satirical ballads like the *Larī-shāh*, which is about contemporary life, and full of humour.

The *intelligentsia* among the Kashmiris are now alive to the fine qualities of their language and its literature: and it can only be hoped that with the establishment of better conditions, with a truly secular democracy in Kashmir, further development of Kashmiri literature will be a matter of course.

TELUGU LITERATURE

The literatures in the great Dravidian languages are in the first instance saturated with the spirit of the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* and the epics and with the ideals of Indian Philosophy, Brahmanical (*Vēdānta* as explained by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and the Śaiva-Siddhānta and the Vīra-Śaiva or the Liṅgāyat, and other sects) as well as Jaina. Most of the types of literature also are of a Sanskrit inspiration. Tamil alone of the Dravidian languages possesses a rather distinct literary tradition, the *Saṅgam* tradition, which was going strong two thousand to fifteen hundred years ago and which is not yet defunct; and all other Dravidian languages have a mass of popular or folk literature which partially at least goes back to the purely Dravidian stratum in the literatures of these languages. But it is the Sanskrit or Composite Aryan and Non-Aryan Hindu spirit which breathes through all of them. This, together with the great fact of a very large and indispensable Sanskrit vocabulary in all the literary Dravidian languages (including Tamil), places the literatures of the Dravidian languages within the same orbit or family or group as that of the Aryan languages in India.

Telugu is the Dravidian speech spoken by the largest number of people in India, some 35 millions, and it is a richly developed language. But the oldest specimens of it so far available go back only to the 7th century, in some inscriptions, where we find Telugu to be already established as an effective means of expression and fully oriented towards Sanskrit by borrowing from it words whenever they were required. The cultivation of Telugu must have been going on for centuries before that, although actual remains, either in inscriptions or in literature, have not been found, earlier than the second half of the 1st millennium A. D. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, a later Vedic text (c. 700. B. C.), already knows the Telugus by their other and older name—the *Andhras*; and the Andhra or Sātavāhana emperors of the centuries round about Christ appear to have spoken a kind of ancient Telugu, as also the Kings of the Cēti dynasty in Orissa of the 2nd century B. C. (King Kharavēla's name, as in his famous inscription, appears to be in what may

be called "Ancient Telugu"—it is a compound made up of two Dravidian words, possibly Ancient Telegu, meaning 'He of the *kar* or Black *vel* or Lance.' For aught we know, the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people of Sindh and South Panjab were ancestors of (or related to) the Telugus (as much as to the Tamils and other Dravidians of South India).

A few inscriptions from the 7th to the 10th century apart (in some 10th century inscriptions we find verse compositions), the oldest available books in Telugu go back to the early part of the 11th century. The history of the Telugu language and its literature can be divided, for convenience in study (in view of their general trends as noticeable in the different stages), into the following periods :

- (1) Old Telugu (not represented in literature), to 1000 A. D.
- (2) Middle Telugu : 1000 A. D. to 1800 A. D.
 - (a) Early Middle Telugu, 1000 A. D. to 1350 A. D.
 - (b) Second Middle Telugu, 1350-1500 A. D.
 - (c) Third Middle Telugu, 1500-1650 A. D.
 - (d) Fourth Middle Telugu, 1650-1800 A. D.
- (3) New or Modern Telugu, after 1800 A. D. (with its latest phase, after 1925).

(In Telugu and other modern Dravidian names, it is to be noted that the village name, corresponding to the surname or family name elsewhere, comes first, and then usually the father's name, after that the personal name, and finally a title).

(1) Old Telugu : to 1000 A. D.

Old Telugu, to 1000 A. D., cannot be discussed, as, barring the few inscriptions (with examples of verse), proper literary specimens are not available. It would appear that certain forms of popular literature (called *deśi* i. e. "indigenous" by Telugu scholars—apart from the post-1000 A. D. *Kāvyas*, *Campūs*, *Prabandhas* and dramas on the Sanskrit model which are known as the *mārgi* i. e. "standard, or model") still survive. Thus we have 'Cradle Songs' (*lāli-pāṭalu*); 'Songs of the Dawn' when farmers go to work at dawn (*mēlu-kolupulu*); 'Songs of Love' (*jāvaḷilu*); 'Songs of the Harvest' (*ūḍupu-pāṭalu*); 'Songs of the Field Labourers' (*Kuli-pāṭalu*); 'Songs of Wine' (*Kallu-pāṭalu*); 'Songs of Play' (*āṭa-pāṭalu*); besides 'Songs of the Festivals and of Devotion' (now known as *maṅgaḷa-hāratulu* and *kīrttanalu*);

as well as Proverbs (*sāmetalu*), Folk-tales (*kathalu*), and Ballads regarding warfare among local chiefs (*vīra-pāṭalu*). These were current from ancient times, judging from pure Telugu words used in denoting most of them. The modern and mediaeval equivalents of these have been found, doubtless based on the pre-1000 A. D. tradition, but no authentic specimens which are really old have been found. In metre, these *deśi* or popular specimens of verse are syllabic and not moric; the purely Telugu metres of the later poetry are based on this Old Telugu system of versification, e. g. the *taruvōja*, *akkara* and *sisam* metres of Nannaya, and the quartets and couplets (*dvipadas*) of Vemaṇa.

The Telugu script (almost identical with that for Kannaḍa) took shape by 1000 A. D. from the Pahlava script of the 7th century A. D., which ultimately goes to the pan-Indian Brāhmī which became current in the Deccan and South India from 3rd century B. C.

(2) Middle Telugu : 1000-1800 A. D.

Taking note of the history of the development of Telugu as a language, and the political history of the Telugu people with its repercussions on their literature during these eight centuries, the subdivisions as indicated of this Middle Telugu Period as indicated above have been proposed.

(2a) Early Middle Telugu : 1009-1350 A. D.

The Brahman Nannaya-bhaṭṭa is the first Telugu poet whose works have been preserved: three books (*Ādi*, *Sabhā* and part of *Vana*) of the *Mahābhārata* as rendered by him about 1020 A. D. form the oldest, and one of the most esteemed, of Telugu classics. It is believed that there was a pre-11th century literature of Jaina inspiration in Telugu, but there is no evidence for it, as we have for Tamil and Kannaḍa. Nannaya is credited with bringing in a purposeful reform of Telugu (hence his title, *Vāganuśāsana*) for literary employ in emulation of Sanskrit, and this might have gone hand-in-hand with a Brahmanical (Vedic and Puranic) revival. Five other works are attributed to him, including a Telugu grammar in Sanskrit known as the *Andhra-śabda-cintāmaṇi* or *Prakriyā-kaumudī*, but they were really written by others at much later periods. Nannaya-bhaṭṭa was the family-priest of

the Chālukya King Rājarāja Narēndra (1022-1063), and he was from Veṅgi-nāḍu, the area between the Kṛishṇa and Gōḍavārī rivers, where the best Telugu is said to be spoken. His *Bhārata* is in a very clear and simple style, which Telugu literary critics compare with the 'grape' or 'grape mould or style' (*drākṣū-pāka*), where the sweetness of the composition can be immediately tasted to the fullest, as opposed to other styles known as *Kadalī-pāka* or 'the banana mould', where the outer rind has to be thrown out before the fruit can be tasted, and the *nārikēla-pāka* or 'the coconut mould', where some difficulty is experienced in coming to the core of the poet's meaning ; (and critics speak even of *pāṣāṇa-pāka*, or 'stone mould', in which there is absolute want of any poetic excellence !) He uses the *campū* style, mixed prose and verse, and the verse is in a variety of metres.

Linguistic investigation of Telugu would seem to suggest that at this early age in Telugu there were two traditions or styles in writing—one, the 'high' or literary one, as characterized by Nannaya's compositions, based on an earlier literary style removed from the actual colloquial in many ways ; and two, a vernacular style which we find in the contemporary inscriptions, in which the language shows a reflex of this spoken grammar and vocabulary. This 'high' style has always received the homage of scholars. There has been, however, a general intelligibility of the 'high' style even among the ordinary people.

Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa is credited by Nannaya himself with helping the latter in his poetical labours. His eminence as a poet and as a scholar in Sanskrit, Kannada, Prakrit and 'Paiśācī' is mentioned in the contemporary Nandimapuḍi inscription legalizing the grant of the village of that name to him by the King. Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa probably took a leading part with Nannaya in the Hindu revival movement. His daughter Kuppammā was also reputed to be a great poetess.

A great 11th century scholar of Telugu was Pavaluri Mallanna (c. 1060-1070), who translated into Telugu verse the Sanskrit treatise on Mathematics by Mahāvīracārya, which was rendered into Kannada also, during the same century. This work is indicative of the advance made by Telugu as a means of scientific expression.

In the 12th century, two Hindu sects became prominent in South India—the Vaishṇava Rāmānuja sect from the Tamil

country, and the Śaiva Liṅgāyat or Vira-śaiva sect from the Kannāda country, both of which had their influence on Telugu literature. Pratāpa-rudra I (1140-1196), a Kākatiya prince (ruling from Worakkal or Warangal), who was a follower of the Vira-śaiva faith, wrote a *Niti-sāra* or work on worldly wisdom and statecraft in both Sanskrit and Telugu. A Liṅgāyat or Vira-śaiva teacher named Palakuriki Sōmanātha, *guru* of Ninduturi Annayāmātya the minister of Pratāpa-rudra I, wrote a *Bāsava-Purāṇa*, a legendary biography of the founder of the Vira-śaiva sect, in a popular couplet metre (*dvipada*), and two other works.

Nannicōḍu, known as Kavirāja-śikhāmaṇi and as Teṅkanāmātya (c. 1150 A. D.), ultimately of Tamil origin, composed a long narrative poem the *Kunāra-sambhava*. This work shows considerable Kannāda and Tamil influence in its words, and Kannāda influence in its metres. The story is from Kālidāsa's Sanskrit poem, but Nannicōḍu made a very successful Telugu composition on it.

The unfinished work of Nannaya was taken up in the 13th century by Tikkanna Yajvī, known as Kavi-brahmā (c. 1220-1300). Tikkanna was attached to the court of a chief, who was a tributary to the Kākatiya King, in Guntur. His grandfather Bhāskara is supposed to have written a Telugu *Rāmāyaṇa* in the 12th century, but that work is lost. His *Bhārata* gave the complete *Mahābhārata* to the Telugu people. Like Nannaya's, it is written in *campū*. He wrote in a simple and lucid style, and he was a poet and observer of men, motives and manners, and he made his characters really living. The *Virāṭa-parvan* is supposed to be his best work in this translation. A version of the story of Rāma the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the latter part of his life as king, the *Nirvacana-Uttara-rāmāyaṇa*, and a treatise on prosody called the *Kavi-vāg-bandhana*, as well as a poem *Vijaya-sena*, are also attributed to him.

Errapragāḍa (known also as Śambhu-dāsa Prabandha-paramēśvara ; c. 1280-1350) completed the *Vana-parvan*, the 3rd book of the *Mahābhārata* which Nannaya did not complete nor did Tikkanna. He is said also to have translated the *Hari-vaṁśa*, the sequel to the *Mahābhārata*, besides the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Lakṣmī-nṛsiṃha-purāṇa* or *Ahōbala-māhātmya*. He was a staunch Sivite. His style is more difficult than that of Nannaya or Tikkanna : it is in *kadali-pāka* (see ante, p. 274).

The tradition of rendering the Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas* has continued down to the 20th century, as in most other New Indian literatures.

The thirteenth century in Telugu literature has to show the following noted poets :

(1) Raṅganātha (c. 1230-40), or his patron the feudatory chief Buddha-rāju (in the district of Kistna)—possibly the former under instructions from Buddha-rāju, as well as two sons of Buddha-rāju, viz. Kaca-vibudhu and Viṭṭala-rāju, jointly completed in couplets the entire *Rāmāyaṇa*—the two sons of Buddha-rāju being responsible for the latter part of the Rāma story (the *Uttara-rāmāyaṇa*). It was evidently a gifted family ; a daughter of Buddha-rāju is also said to have helped Raṅganātha in his work. Raṅganātha's *Rāmāyaṇa* is in simple style, and is still read.

(ii) Ātharvaṇa 'Dvityācārya', a Jaina writer, composed a Telugu grammar the *Trilinga-śabdānuśāsana* and a Telugu work on prosody the *Ātharvaṇa-chandas*. He also tried to complete Nannaya's *Bhārata*, but Tikkanna, his contemporary and a better poet, easily superseded him.

(iii) Mūlaghaṭika Kētana (c. 1250) rendered the Sanskrit romance the *Daśakumāra-carita* into Telugu, besides composing a Telugu grammar the *Āndhra-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇamu*, and the translation of the well-known treatise on Hindu law, the *Mitākṣarā* commentary by Vijñāna-bhikṣhu on Yājñavalkya's *Smṛti*.

(iv) Beddanna (c. 1260) composed a *Śataka* or centad on morals and wisdom (the *Sumati-śataka*), the second of a series of *Śatakas* in Telugu, the first being composed by Palakuriki Sōmanātha in 1180.

(v) Marannai wrote a version of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, which was utilized and imitated by (vi) Mañcanna in his *Kēyūrabāhu-carita* ; and (vii) Hullaki Bhāskara, who composed a *Rāmāyaṇa*, dedicated to Sahinimara, a cavalry commander, son of prince Buddha-rāju the patron of Raṅganātha (No. i in this list).

(2b) Second Middle Telugu : 1350-1500 A. D.

Late in the 13th and early in the 14th century, the Hindu States of the Deccan had their first conflict with the expanding Muslim State from North India (Delhi), and a struggle which was long and bitter started by 1300 A. D. The Telugu Hindus,

in collaboration with the Kannaḍigas, and under the leadership of Bukka-rāya, and inspired by two great Brahman scholars and statesmen Vidyāranya Mādhava and his brother Śaṇaḥārya (the latter is famous for his great commentaries on the Vedas), built a powerful state with the city of Vijayanagara, on the Tuṅgabhadra, as its capital, in 1336 A. D. This became the bulwark of the South Indian Hindus against Muslim aggression from North India and the Deccan (the Bahmani Empire, 1347-1518 A. D. and the five Muslim states which grew out of it) for nearly 250 years. A more intensive literary life in Sanskrit and in the local Dravidian languages Telugu and Kannaḍa started under Vijayanagara auspices. The vernacular literature was in traditional lines, and consisted, as previously, largely of adaptations from the Sanskrit. A certain amount of Muslim (North India and Persian) influence came into Telugu through this Muslim contact, which started from the middle of the 14th century, and this became quite strong under the Qutb Shāhī Kings of Golkonda in the 16th and 17th centuries, and under the Asaf Jāhī Nizāms of Haidarabad State during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

During the 14th century the two undermentioned poets flourished in Telugu: (i) Nacanna Sōma (c. 1355-1377), who flourished in the court of Bukka-rāya, the founder of Vijayanagara, who composed a *Hari-vamśa*; and (ii) Śrīnātha (1365-1440), the greatest Telugu poet of his age and a master of language: his greatest works are the *Śṛṅgāra-Naiṣadha*, on the story of Nala and Damayantī from the *Mahābhārata*, which is a master-piece in the Sanskrit style, and *Palnāṭi-vīra-caritra*, as well as *Vithi- or Vidhi-nāṭaka*. These last two have a refreshing novelty in their subject-matter. *Palnāṭi-vīra-caritra* is a verse romance of love and war among the local Telugu barons of the day, quite a new subject for an Indian poet of the times; and *Vidhi-nāṭaka*, professedly a treatise on the drama, gives a vivid account of life in a Telugu city like Rājamahēndrī in the poet's days, including sketches of the women he meets in the street. Other works of his are some Puranic renderings, without any special character of their own.

In the 15th century flourished Bammēra Potana (c. 1400-1475) who rendered the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Telugu, still popular among all classes of people, followed by a *Virabhadra-vijaya* in

praise of Śiva; Pillalamarri Pina-vīra-bhadruḍuyya (c. 1450-80), court-poet of Saluva Narasiṁha-rajū, who was the author of over half a dozen *Purāṇa* stories in Telugu, including a rendering of the *Jaimini Bhārata*; and over a dozen poets whose works throughout the 15th century helped to strengthen, and expand the Sanskrit bases of Telugu literature, making available to Telugu readers not only the *Purāṇas*, but works of a secular nature also, like the *Vikramārka-carita* (by Jakkanna, c. 1410), the *Bhōja-rājiya* (by Anantāmātya, c. 1434), the *Navanātha-caritra* (a short story, by Gauramma Mantri, first half of the 15th century); and Sanskrit dramas were translated as dramas, and Telugu dramas were composed for the first time by Vinukonḍa Vallabha (c. 1420). His *Kriḍābhirāmamu* gives an account of life in Warangal in his time, in the course of a narration of his travels by one character to a friend. A work on gems in Telugu (the *Ratna-śāstra* of Bhārava Kavi, second half of the 15th century), and one on horses and veterinary science (by Manu Mañcibhaṭṭa, close of the century) are remarkable. Translations of the *Pañca-tantra* (by Dubaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa, c. 1470), and of the Sanskrit drama the *Prabōdha-candrōdaya* by two writers (c. 1480), and the Telugu version of the story of Naci'kētas (by Duggipalli Duggayya, c. 1480) are also to be mentioned.

A poetess, Talapāka Himmakka (c. 1450), one of the early women writers of Telugu, composed a poem on a *Mahābhārata* theme, the *Subhadra-kalyāṇa*, in the popular *dvipada* metre.

There was the Telugu poet Vēmula-vāḍa Bhīma Kavi, to whom half a dozen important works are attributed, who is believed to have flourished sometime during the period 1350 to 1500. His *Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya* emulates that *tour-de-force* in Sanskrit literature of the same name, giving the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* if lines are construed and words explained in one way, and that of the *Mahābhārata* if that is done in another way. This work shows to what extent the vocabulary of Sanskrit was becoming an integral part of Telugu.

(2c) Third Middle Telugu : 1500-1650 A. D.

The power of the Vijayanagara empire was at its highest during the first half of the 16th century, and Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya, Vijayanagara emperor from 1509 to 1530, was one of the greatest monarchs in the history of India. He was a

defender of his country and people from Muslim aggression on the one hand, and on the other he expanded and consolidated his power. His was a stirring period in warlike valour; and at the same time, as can be expected, it was a period of high culture in all branches. Kṛishṇa-deva Rāya was himself a poet and scholar in three languages, a writer of no mean eminence, and at the same time a patron of the arts and letters.

Upto the reign of Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya, Telugu literature was mainly content with translations and adaptations from the Sanskrit. But a period of original *kāvya*s or *prabandhas* i. e. verse compositions, came in. The stories were either original, or based on some Sanskrit source, and the subject matter related to love and warlike valour treated in a secular spirit. Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya himself composed a fine *kāvya* in this style, the *Āmukta-mālyada*, where we have, in the framework of the life of a woman devotee of Viṣṇu, a very good picture of the customs and religious beliefs and practices of the age. Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya indeed shows himself to be a poet of a high order in this work. In addition he composed five stories in Sanskrit.

Eight great poets, called the *Aṣṭa-diggajas* or the 'Eight Elephants of the Quarters (bearing the Earth)', were attached to the Vijayanagara court during this period. The greatest of them was Allasāni Peddana (c. 1510-1575), known as *Andhra-Kavitā-Pitāmahūḍu* or 'Grandfather of Andhra or Telugu Poetry'. His most important work is a descriptive and narrative poem the *Svarōciṣa-Manu-carita*, or the romantic history of Svarōchisha Manu. It is quite an original story with a slight basis on the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, but the poet with his descriptive scenes of nature and his delineation of character has made a very fine poem of it. This work, and the one composed by Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya (*Āmukta-mālyada*) begin a new literary movement in Telugu. A religious poem *Hari-kathā-sāra* is also ascribed to him. Other writers of the *Aṣṭa-diggaja* group were Nandī Timmana or Mukku (i.e. 'Long-nosed') Timmana (author of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*, a *kāvya* or *prabandha* based on an episode in the story of Kṛishṇa); Ayyalla Rāju Rāmabhadra, known as Piḷḷāla Rāmabhadrayya or "Rāmabhadra with many children" (author of *Vasu-caritra*); Dhūrjaṭī (wrote on Śiva's glory and the Kāḷahasti shrine of Śiva—he was a man of profound piety); Madayyagāri Mallana (author of *Rāja-śekara-*

caritra); Piṅgali Suranna (early 17th century; wrote a number of works in a rather learned and artificial style: [a] his *Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviyamu* is a *ślēsa-kāvya* or poem with a 'double entendre'—cf. p. 278 above for a work of the same type by Bhīma Kavi; [b] *Kalāpūrṇōdaya*, a romantic poem with complicated situations written in a simple and straight-forward style; and another romantic tale—[c] the *Prabhāvatī-Pradyumna*); Rāmarāja-bhūṣaṇa, a son-in-law of Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya (his *Vasu-caritra* is quite a different work from that with the same name by Rāmabhadra—it is another romantic story with all the complexities of Telugu court-poetry of the period; and a new *tour-de-force* of his was the *Hariścandra-Nalōpākhyāna*, which can be read in two ways, to give the story of Hariścandra and Śaibyā and of Nala and Damayantī); and Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa (attached to the court of Vēnkaṭa-pati Rāya of Chandragiri: famous as a court jester and wit, but in his poems he is quite serious: he composed among other works a religious poem, the *Pāṇḍuraṅga-Māhātmya*). There were other poets, also belonging to this new school of *Prabandha-kāvyas*, of whom one, not among the great eight mentioned above, was recognized as a prominent poet during the days of Kṛishṇa-dēva Rāya: he was Śaṅkuśāla Nṛisīmha-kavi, author of the *kāvya Kavi-karṇa-rasāyana*. It is said that Allasāni Peddana was jealous of him and prevented him from getting a place in the court. Other names, except that of one poetess (Kumārī Molla: she was of the potter caste, and wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa*) would be too numerous to mention.

The literature of this period, particularly towards its close, was highly artificial, and may be compared with the artificial *Dvyartha-Kāvyas* of the 17th century. A simple style avoiding verbal tricks and acrobatics which became the vice of Telugu poetry was necessary. The destruction of the Vijayanagara empire by the five combined Muslim states of Deccan (Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Bidar, and Berar, which were established on the ruins of the Muslim Bahmani empire) after the disastrous battle of Talikōṭa in 1565 had its adverse effect on the literature and culture of the Andhra country; and beyond a lifeless repetition of earlier literary *genres*, styles, and stories, nothing remarkable now came out in Telugu literature; and thus the next period was one of decadence.

Telugu literature, however, received some patronage during this period from the Muslim dynasty of the Qutb Shāhī Kings of Golkonda (1518-1689), who ruled over a good part of the Northern Telugu-land—Telengana. The Kings of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty cultivated the friendship of their Telugu subjects, and knew Telugu, and some of them took Telugu ladies to wife. Sultān Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-1580) knew Telugu and encouraged literature in that language. He had a Telugu lady named Bhāgirathī as his queen, and their son was Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh (born 1566, reigned 1580-1612), and he was a poet in both Dakhni and Telugu, and was also a great patron of the arts and letters. Sultan Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was called ‘Malikiābhiram’ and ‘Vighuram’ by his Telugu subjects, and he appears to have preferred a pure Telugu diction (*Acca-Telugu* or *Acca-Tenugu*) rather than the highly Sanskritized ‘mixed language’ (*miśra-bhāṣā*) of the day. Two famous *Prabandhas*, both in *Acca-Telugu*, were written by poets in his court—the *Tapatī-saṁvaraṇam* of Addaṅki Gaṅgādhara and the *Yayāti-caritramu* of Ponnikaṇṭi Teleṅganārya. Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh in his early youth loved a beautiful young dancing girl Bhāgyamatī or Bhāgya-matī, whose mother-tongue was Telugu, and later he married her. The romance of Sultān Qūlī Qutb Shāh and Bhāgyamatī became famous in the Deccan, and such a great love the king bore to his Hindu wife that in her honour he founded a new town 8 miles from Golkonda, which he named Bhāgya-nagara, and gave it later another name, Haidarābād, after Bhāgyamatī was given the more exalted name of Haidar Mahal: and this city is the capital of the Andhra State now, Haidarābād (or Bhāgya-nagara). Muhammad Qūlī’s love for Bhāgyamatī was treated in the form of an allegorical romance by the Dakhni poet Mullā Wajhī, (the *Qutb-Muštari* or “the Pole-star and Jupiter”); and Qutb Shāh himself is well-known as a great poet of Dakhni (see before, page 143), but his Telugu compositions have not been found. In his court he had as his friend the great Telugu poet Sāraṅgu Tammaya, who composed the celebrated love-poem *Vaijayanti-vilāsam*. The successors of Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh were all patrons of Telugu and Sanskrit as well as Dakhni and Persian literature and learning.

(2d) Fourth Middle Telugu : 1650-1800 A. D.

Nothing of any abiding literary interest or importance could be produced by the imitators of the great poets of the 16th century. Quite a lot was written, and new types of freak poetry with hyperbole and astonishing feats of verbal jugglery without any naturalism or real poetry became popular in an age of pedantry and degenerate taste. To show their control over language, a number of poets wrote poems in what is called *Acca-Tenugu* or 'Pure Telugu' without any pure Sanskrit words (though Prakrit words and *semi-tatsamas* or modified Sanskrit words were allowed). This kind of Telugu is also known as *Deśyāndhramu*, about which Dr. S. Radhakrishnan once observed that it was "rather difficult to write", because it was artificial, as it sought to reject Sanskrit words which had become adopted into the language and naturalized in it, and to create new concoctions by turning Sanskrit *tatsamas* into artificial *tadbhavas* which have no normal development or place in language. The oldest and most successful work in this line was the *Yayāti-caritra* by Ponnikanti Teleṅganārya (c. 1578), which is quite a good work, not too artificial; and a few other works of this type were produced. Freak literature in the shape of *Citrakāvya*s and *Bhaṇḍa-kāvya*s were written, to show off the scholarship of the writers.

Of the dozens of poets of this period, 1650 to 1800, and right down to the middle of the 19th century, mention may be made of one—Kankaṇṭi Pāpa-rāju (18th century), whose *Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa* in *campū* style, and whose drama *Viṣṇumāyā-vilāsa* are noteworthy.

The outstanding poet of this epoch, whose exact date however still remains a matter of speculation, and who was quite on a different footing from the artificial school in vogue at the time, was Vēmaṇa. Some take him even to the 15th century. He is generally placed in the 17th. He composed his moral distichs in stanza-form in a popular Telugu metre, and the collection of his poems, where a moral virtue or situation is described with apt simile and example, is one of the most popular works in Telugu. Vēmaṇa has been compared with Tiruvalluvar in Old Tamil literature. He has been translated into English as well as Hindi.

During the later Vijayanagara period, large numbers of Telugus had settled in the Tamil and Kannada countries. There they formed new centres of Telugu literature during the 17th-18th centuries, e. g. at Tanjore, at Madura, at Pudukkota, and in Mysore. Cāmakūra Vēṅkaṭa-Kavi (c. 1630-40) of Tanjore, and his royal patron the Telugu ruler of Tanjore Raghunātha, were great poets—especially Vēṅkaṭa-Kavi, whose *Śaraṅgadhara* and *Vijaya-vilāsa* are⁶ justly famous. The South Indian Telugu poets of the 18th century rather over-emphasized eroticism in their works, and that is a great fault: and their attitude was rather amoral. The tradition of Telugu poetry in the Tamil and Kannada countries has gradually died out, when the Telugus settled there adopted more and more the local languages, losing their grip over their own language. The great Telugu Saint, Musician and Song-composer Tyāgarāya of Tanjore (d. 1848) is honoured everywhere in South India as the greatest exponent of the *Karṇāṭaka* or the South Indian School of Music (as opposed to the *Hindusthānī* or the North Indian), and his Telugu songs of devotion to Rāma are sung as much by Musicians in the Tamil-land as in the Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada tracts.

During this age, we find the curious phenomenon of two Brahman poets writing on Christian themes, evidently as a poetic exercise. They were Pingaḷi Ellana-rāyuḍu (c. 1602), who wrote his *Tōbhya-carita* (or *Sarveśvara-māhātmya*), in which he narrated the legend of St. Thomas, after making the customary obeisance to the Hindu Gods and teachers; and Maṅgalagiri Ānanda-kavi (c. 1750), whose *Vedānta-rasāyana* is a *kāvya* in 4 cantos on the life of Christ and the doctrines of the Christian Church, composed at the request of a Hindu convert to Christianity who belonged to a respectable family.

(3) New or Modern Telugu : after 1800

In considering Telugu literature after 1800 A. D., we have to take note of the great devotee of Rāma who was also a great musical composer, the Saint-Poet Tyāgarāya, who has been mentioned above. He lived in the heart of the Tamil country, but composed his inimitable songs in Telugu, in praise of God whom he worshipped as Rāma, and these songs, set to music in the classical *Rāgas* of South India, form the common repertoire for exponents of vocal music not only among Telugus,

but also among the Tamilians, Malayālis and Kannaḍigas. Tyagarāya's compositions, in spirit going back to the great devotional tradition of Mediaeval India, are sweet and sincere ; and the place of Tyāgarāya in South Indian music is comparable to that of Tānasēna (contemporary of Akbar) in North Indian music. Like Tānasēna's songs, which are always sung by exponents of music in North India, giving an additional prestige to the language in which they were composed (viz. the Brajbhasha dialect of Western Hindi), Tyāgarāya's songs have given an additional prestige to Telugu as a mellifluous speech, and a proper language for music.

Although a good deal of the Telugu country (the 'Northern Circars') came under the British in 1764, and the first Telugu book was printed in 1796, it took some decades before Telugu could be modernized in both its language and its literature. Madras under the British became an important centre of Telugu studies ; but the Telugu *paṇḍits* in British employ, appointed to teach the language and write books in it, were under the spell of the old poetic language which was already archaic, and ignored the living Telugu speech as used in ordinary letters and in some popular prose chronicles. A new prose on the basis of the Old Telugu of the *kāvya*s was sought to be created by Telugu *paṇḍits* like Cinnayya-sūri, who was the pioneer in this line, and his exertions in this direction were followed by his successor Rāo Bahādur Kandukuri Vīrēśa-liṅgam Pantulu of Rājamahēndravaram (Rajahmundry). Rāo Bahādur Kandukuri Vīrēśa-liṅgam Pantulu (1848-1919) was the real creator of Modern Telugu Literature. Although forced to use an artificial prose with an Old and Middle Telugu grammar for Modern Telugu, in his dramas he introduced the colloquial speech, and this paved the way for the use of actual spoken Telugu for literary purposes, after a long controversy which continued down to the end of the first quarter of the present century and is yet not wholly concluded. Most of the prominent authors remained neutral, but gradually a *via media* with leanings towards the colloquial has been established. Vīrēśa-liṅgam wrote on biography and polemics for social reform, he composed Telugu plays and farces in the old-style, and also poetry ; he translated both Sanskrit and English plays, wrote the first novel in Telugu (*Rāja-śekhara-caritramu*), and wrote on grammar, prosody and rhetoric.

Other writers came and joined forces with Virēśaliṅgam.—Dharmavaram Kṛishṇamāchāri (writer of a number of popular dramas on *Purāṇa* themes), Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham (the 'blind poet of Andhra-deśa', called also the 'Milton of Andhra'—wrote novels and dramas), Gurujāḍa Appārāvu (dramatist and poet, who revived a popular Telugu metre found also in Kannada), Vēdam Vēṅkaṭa-rāya of Nellore, D. Kṛishṇamāchārlu of Bellary, and other builders of Modern Telugu. The twin-poets Tirupati Śāstrī and Vēṅkaṭa Śāstrī and their followers, by moving from city to city, created an enthusiasm for Telugu poetry among all sections of the people, and they prepared the ground for the modern poets. Their *Buddha-caritramu* is a fairly long poem, and forms an excellent inauguration of the modern spirit in both subject-matter and diction in Telugu literature.

Critics and historians of the literature also helped the cause of Telugu by making easier the study of language and its literature. The late Dr. Cuttamanchi (*Kaṭṭamañci*) Rāmaliṅga Redḍi (d. 1951), Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University and Pro-Chancellor of Mysore University, was a great literary critic of Telugu. Minister Taṅguluri Prakāśam's auto-biography is quite outstanding in Telugu. Among those who may be said to follow him in this line are Poṭṭapalli Sītārāma Rāo, Pillavārim Hanumanta Rāo, Indrakāṇṭhi Hanumanta Śāstrī, besides Ananta-kṛishṇa Śarmā, Muṭanuri Kṛishṇa Rāo, Puṭṭaparti Nārāyaṇāchāryulu, Hanumanta Rāo, and Pōtukuchi Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī. Translations of the Bengali novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Ramesh Chandra Datta helped the growth of modern Telugu fiction, as did adaptations of English works (e.g. the *Vicar of Wakefield*, adapted by Virēśaliṅgam).

The influence of the mind of Bengal on that of Andhra was most remarkable. Reformist movements within the Hindu Society which started in Bengal from the beginning of the 19th century, like the Brāhmo Samāj, profoundly moved the intellectual leaders of Andhra from the last decades of the 19th century, and Rām Mōhan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen and Īśwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar came to be venerated by Andhras, and their literary work was also imitated. The Nationalist Movement in Bengal from 1905 also aroused the sense of patriotism among the Telugus. Many Telugu-speaking persons

learned Bengali, and quite a mass of Bengali literature, beginning with the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Ramēśa Chandra Datta and the poetical and other writings of Rabindranath Tagore, became available in Telugu. Rabindranath, as can be expected, has been accepted with open arms by Telugu writers and thought-leaders. The immediate effect of it all meant a modernizing movement with a sense of the basic values of Indian thought and civilization, which acted as a great tonic to the mind of Andhra as of many other parts of India.

The use of the old poetical language with its archaic grammar was a great handicap for modern Telugu prose, and Gidugu V. Rāmamūrti Pantulu (d. 1940), a philologist of repute who studied the Kolian Savara speech of the Austric family, gave his powerful support to the Spoken Telugu Movement early in this century. This has gradually brought about a far-reaching emancipation of the Telugu language, and we are at the threshold of a new literary revival in Telugu. A poet like Tirupati Vēṅkaṭeśvara carried on the old traditions of poetry, but Gurujāḍa Appārāvu has been a pioneer for a new school. Original social and historical plays are being composed : Appārāvu's *Kanyā-śulkamu* on the evils of the dowry system in marriage, K. Śrīnivāsa Rāo's historical plays on *Prithvirāja* and on the Fall of Vijayanagara, as well as other social and historical plays by other writers, are being composed and are extending the horizon of Telugu.

Resembling more or less the *Sabuj-Patra* Movement which was started by Pramatha Chaudhuri in Bengali literature about 1915 (see p. 188, also p. 212), Tallāvajjhula Śivaśaṅkara Śāstrī, and others like Viśvanātha Satya-nārāyaṇa, Dēvulapalli Kṛishṇa Śāstrī, Koḍavaṭi Gaṇṭi, Vēṅkaṭa-subbayya, Mokkapati Narasiṁha Śāstrī, Nori Narasiṁha Śāstrī, Vēḍula Satya-nārāyaṇa, Nāyani Subbarāo, Chintā Dikshitulu, Munimāṇikyam Narasiṁharāo, and Naṇḍuri Vēṅkaṭa Subbarāo (whose exquisite love-lyrics in the series *Yeṅki-pāṭalu* or "the Songs of Yeṅki" are among the most beautiful love poems in modern Indian literature) founded a new literary group in 1921 known as the *Sāhiti Samiti*. They represented all that was progressive and rationalistic in Telugu thought and letters. Their mouth-piece was the journal *Sāhiti*, which was followed by a number of other ones. Viśvanātha Satya-nārāyaṇa was the

greatest writer and poet of this group—he was given the sobriquet of *Kavi-samrāt* or 'Emperor among Poets'. Bhamiḍipāṭi Kāmēśvara Rāo, who passed away in 1958 at the age of 60, was an outstanding humoristic writer in Telugu in his dramas, skits and talks. He was a good scholar of Sanskrit who translated the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* dramas into Telugu. Some of the other members of the *Sāhiti Samiti* are also great names in Modern Telugu literature.

Rāyaprōlu Subbarāvu, who studied in Rabindranath's School at Śānti-nikētan, is a dominant figure in poetry. His versification, with its judicious use of Sanskrit words, is regarded as very mellifluous in modern Telugu poetry. He has introduced Rabindranath Tagore to Telugu readers through his translations. The trio Tallāvajjhula Śivaśaṅkara Śāstrī, Rāyaprōlu Subbarāvu and Viśvanātha Satya-nārāyaṇa are three of the other leading poets of Telugu. Viśvanātha Satya-nārāyaṇa is also a novelist of note—his *Vēyipaḍaḡalu* (or "Thousand Snake-hoods") is a living and comprehensive picture of Andhra society at the present day. Other noteworthy poets are Dēvulapalli Kṛishṇa Śāstrī (mentioned above), who is known as the "Shelley of Andhra", Nārāyaṇāchārlu Bāsavarāju Appā-rāo and Naṇḍuri Vēṅkaṭa Subbarāo (both lyrists, writers of songs—Naṇḍuri Vēṅkaṭa Subbarāo's *Yeṅki-pāṭalu* has been mentioned above), Piṅgali Lakshmī-kāntam, Kāṭuri Vēṅkaṭēśvara Rāo, Śiṣṭala, Śrīraṅga Nārāyaṇa Bābu, D. R. Redḍi, Mallavarapu Viśveśvara Rāo, Pillakā Gaṇapati Śāstrī and Buchchi Sundarasāmi Śāstrī. These are poets in the traditional style. Definite 'progressive' and leftist tendencies are manifest in the poetry of Śrīraṅgam Śrīnivāsa Rāo, propularly known as 'Śrī-Śrī'; and what is known as 'Neo-classicism' (as opposed to the earlier Romanticism) is found in the poetry of Naṇḍuri Kṛishṇa-māchārlu, G. Joshuan, Gadiyaram Śēsha-Śāstrī and Jandhyāla Pāpayya Śāstrī, beside 'Paṭṭābhi' and 'Ārudra'. Two prominent poets from Telangana (or Andhra-land in former Haidarabad) are C. Nārāyaṇa Redḍi and Dāśarathi.

A number of short-story writers and novelists have come to the front, although much advance has not been made. But the new movement towards a simpler and more natural speech will be a great incentive for the production of good work giving the Andhra man's criticism of his own life. Poets and writers of the old school are still flourishing: e. g. (*Mahamahōpādhyāya*

Kalāprapūrṇa Kavi-sārvabhauma, to give his titles) Śrī Śrīpāda Kṛṣṇamūrti Śāstrī, who is the leader of a large group of poets and other writers in the old style. Gaḍiya Rāma-Vēṅkaṭēśa-rāo Śāstrī is well known for his historical *kāvyas*, *Śiva-bhāratamu* (on the life of Śivāji), and *Rāṇā-Pratāpasimha-caritramu*.

A prominent Telugu writer of the present day is M. O. Rāma Rāo, Yuvarāja of Piṭhāpuram, who has to his credit poems and plays, and essays and other prose-writings.

The outstanding novelists of the present-day are Nori Narasimha Śāstrī (author of historical novels), "Buchchi-Bābu" (the inaugurator of a new style of Telugu prose : his real name is S. V. Subba Rāo : he is one of the most distinguished among the younger novelists), and Āḍavi Bapirāju who rivals Viśvanātha Satya-nārāyaṇa. It would appear that Telugu is richer in short-stories than in long novels, the chief exponents of which are Guḍipati Vēṅkaṭāchalam, K. Kuṭumba Rāo, T. Gōpīchandra, Śrīpāda Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, Chintā Dikshitulu, Vēluri Śivarāma Śāstrī, and Pālagummi Padmarāju. Jonnalagaḍḍa Satya-nārāyaṇa-mūrti has to his credit a large number of translations from Bengali and English, besides a number of original works.

The modern drama in Telugu is also in a fairly flourishing state, although it is a late comer in the field. Gurujāḍa Appārāo's social drama *Kanyā-śulkaṃ* ("the Bride-price", c. 1910) being, as mentioned earlier, the first noteworthy social drama in Telugu. There was of course the earlier dramatic tradition which is now obsolete. Viśvanātha Satya-nārāyaṇa, P. V. Rājamannār (former Chief Justice of Madras), and A. Vēṅkaṭēśvara Rāo are other writers of social plays. Guḍipati Vēṅkaṭāchalam is the foremost writer of one-act plays ; and others are Narla Vēṅkaṭēśvara Rāo, Muddukṛishṇa, and Āchārya Ātrēya.

The recent conflict of ideologies in India after Independence has sent some prominent writers to slacken their creative work and find refuge in other domains, but a group of young writers have now started a progressive school, the *Abhyudaya Racayitala Saṅghamu*, to create what is called *Prajā-sāhityamu* or popular literature. Chatulavada Pichchayya is the leader of this, and 'Śrī-Śrī', Śrīraṅga Nārāyaṇa Bābu, Anisetṭi Subbarāo Ātrēya, Ramaṇa Redḍi, and Dāśarathi joined hands in this modern movement. They are not merely leftists, but universalists also ;

and one of their avowed aims is to raise the standard of knowledge and culture among the people.

The Telugus have been in the fore-front of progress in modern India, having given to India and the world a Philosopher and eloquent Preacher of Idealism like S. Rādhākṛishṇan, Politicians like Allāḍi Kṛishṇa-swāmī Aiyar and Benegal Rāma Rāo, and other great men in the various walks of life who have acquired an all-India status. All this, and the achievements of the Telugus in the past, are enough indication of a still greater future distinction in literature for Telugu in a Free India. After the Partition, Telugu is now the language of the largest group of people in India after Hindi (35 millions), and this numerical importance adds to the prestige and importance of a language which as the speech of a well-advanced people has already made notable contributions to Indian literature and culture, and because of its mellifluousness has been called by an English admirer of the language "the Italian of the East."

KANNADA LITERATURE

Kannada (Sanskrit Karṇāṭaka : the name is still occasionally written in the old Anglo-Indian orthography as 'Canara', 'Canarese' or 'Kanarese') is a highly cultivated Dravidian speech which is current among 10 millions. The area of the Kannada speech at one time, probably a thousand years ago, extended much further to the north ; and Kannada appears to have steadily receded before the Aryan Marathi. The earliest specimens of the language are said to go back to a few lines in a Greek drama found in a fragmentary form on papyrus remains of the 2nd century A. D. from Oxyrrhincus in North Egypt, in which a scene in an Indian court is depicted where the king and his courtiers speak in a barbarian language which on examination (by Dr. Hultsch) has been considered to be Ancient Kannada. Already the language shows a highly Sanskritized vocabulary in the few lines quoted. (It must, however, be mentioned that some Kannada scholars do not think the language to be Old Kannada at all.) After this, the earliest remnants of Kannada consist of some inscriptions from the middle of the 5th century, where the language has quite a cultivated atmosphere with its Sanskrit words. Ancient Kannada poetic forms are found in another inscription of c. 500 A. D. The Kannada country is rich in inscriptions in the local language, which have been edited and studied from their linguistic and literary significance as well as historical importance.

The oldest book extant in Kannada ("Old Kannada") is the *Kavi-rāja-mārga* (or "the King's Highway for Poets"), attributed to king Nṛpatuṅga (814-877), of the Rāshṭrā-kūṭa dynasty, but actually by a scholar named Śrīvijaya attached to this king's court. From the 9th century onwards, for over a thousand years, we have continuous specimens of Kannada literature : taking the composition of the inscriptions as literature, the history goes back to the 5th century, 1500 years from now. During this millennium and a half, the language has changed considerably ; and taking note of the development of the Kannada language, of the political history of the Kannada country, and the general trends of the literature, the history of Kannada literature can be conveniently divided into the following periods and sub-periods :

- (1) Ancient Kannada of the pre-literary Period : to 800 A. D. (Pūrvada-paṇa-gannaḍa).
- (2) Old Kannada (Paṇa-gannaḍa, or. Haḷa-gannaḍa) Period : 800-1150 A. D.
- (3) Middle Kannada (Naḍu-gannaḍa) Period : 1150-1800 A. D.
 - (3a) Early Middle Kannada, 1150-1350 A. D.
 - (3b) Second Middle Kannada, 1350-1500 A. D.
 - (3c) Late Middle Kannada, 1500-1800 A. D.
- (4) New or Modern Kannada (Posa- or Hosa-gannaḍa) : from 1800 A. D.

(1) Ancient Kannada Period : to 800 A. D.

Beyond the probability of a fairly rich literature existing in Kannada prior to 800 A. D., we cannot say anything about this period. The *Kavi-rāja-mārga* (c. 840), which is a book on the methods or technique of poetry, mentions a number of writers in the Kannada country, who were probably mostly authors in Prakrit or Sanskrit ; and one author is mentioned, Śrīvardha-dēva Tumbalurāchārya, whose great commentary the *Cūḍāmaṇi* on the Jaina *Tattvārtha Mahāśāstra* has been described as the greatest work in the language by a 17th century Kannada writer Bhaṭṭakalaṅka, a great grammarian of Kannada. The *Cūḍāmaṇi* is no longer extant, and the date was probably the middle of the 7th century, when it would be easy to assume the existence of a literature in Kannada. A number of other Kannada writers are also mentioned in the *Kavi-rāja-mārga*, but nothing has survived from them.

(2) Old Kannada (Paṇa- or Haḷa-gannaḍa) Period : 800-1150 A. D.

Śrīvijaya's *Kavi-rāja-mārga* (840 A. D.) as the oldest Kannada work has been mentioned above. The work is on Rhetoric and *Ars Poetica*, and already the author is proud of the Kannada language and the high culture of the people. Jainism was quite a popular religion in the Kannada country during the Old Kannada Period, and we have a large number of Jaina writers, beginning with Śrīvijaya himself.

After Śrīvijaya, we have Guṇa-vaṛman I, who flourished under the Gaṅga King Mahēndrāntaka Eṇeyappa (886-913), who wrote a *Hari-vaṁśa* or *Nēminātha-Purāṇa*, on the legend of a

Jaina *tirthaṅkara* or saintly teacher, and also a work called the *Śūdraka*.

From the 10th century, we have the vogue of the mixed prose and verse *campū* style in Kannada (as much as in Telugu), in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* stories or episodes, as well as stories from Jaina legend and biography, were treated. In the 10th century we have the following great writers in Kannada. In the first instance, there were the Three Great Poets, sometimes called the *Three Gems*—Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. Pampa (born 902 A. D.), was of Brahman birth, but his father became a Jaina and brought him up in the same faith. Pampa composed in 941 A. D. his two great works, the *Ādi-Purāṇa*, on the life of the first Jaina *tirthaṅkara*, and the *Vikramārjuna-Vijaya* or the *Pampa-Bhārata*, treating of the *Mahābhārata* story. Both these works were highly esteemed in his time. In the second one, he glorifies his patron, a Chalukya princeling, in the person of Arjuna. Ponna was Pampa's contemporary, and equally a Jaina with him. His chief work was the *Śānti-purāṇa* on the legend of 16th Jaina *tirthaṅkara*, besides an acrostic poem in honour of the Jinas. Ranna was younger in time, having composed his *Ajita-Purāṇa* on the second *tirthaṅkara* in 993, besides a poem, the *Gadā-yuddha* or *Sāhasa-Bhima-Vijaya*, on a *Mahābhārata* episode in which he covertly praised a royal patron. These three poets established the *campū* style in Kannada, and were the exemplars for poets for some centuries to come. A patron of Ranna, Chavunḍa-ṛāya, and elder contemporary of his, was a poet himself as he was a patron of the arts, having caused the colossal statue of Gomateśvara to be carved out of the side of a hill at Śrāvaṇa-Belgola (c. 980 A. D.). He composed a history of all the 24 Jaina *tirthaṅkaras* in 978 A. D. (It is noteworthy that an inscription on the statue of Gomateśvara, stating that Chavunḍa-ṛāya had the statue made in Śaka year 1058=980 A. D., is in Old Marathi.)

In 984 A. D., Nāga-varman I, a famous grammarian, wrote his *Chandō'mbudhi* or "Ocean of Metres", a work on prosody. The Kannada scholars loved their language equally with Sanskrit, and hence we have a long list of grammatical and rhetorical as well as lexicographical works on Kannada throughout the centuries from Śrīvijaya (840 A. D.) onwards. Nāga-varman I also wrote a *campū* version of the Sanskrit romance the *Kādambarī* of Bhaṭṭa.

During the greater part of the 11th century, owing to the constant warfare in the country due to Chola invasions from the Tamil-land, there was not much literary endeavour among the Kannada people. A writer named Durga-simha (c. 1025) composed a *Pañca-tantra* in *campū* form. During the last quarter of the 11th century, c. 1079, we have a highly artificial poem by Chandra-rāja, the *Madana-tilaka*, which is full of metrical *tours-de-force* and verbal juggleries. About the same time we have Nāgavarmacharya, a Jaina scholar, who wrote a centad on Detachment from the World (*Vairāgya*), the *Candra-cūḍāmaṇi-Śataka*, called also the *Jñāna-sāra*. Nāga-chandra, or Abhinava Pampa or "New Pampa", belongs to the early 12th century. He was a great poet, who, in addition to a work on the 19th *tīrthaṅkara*, the *Mallinātha-Purāṇa*, composed his *Rāma-candra-caritra-purāṇa* (better known by its shorter title, the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*), which gives in elaborate style the Jaina version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A Jaina poetess named Kanti was contemporaneous with Nāga-chandra.

Other writers of the first half of the 12th century, bringing to a close what might be called the Old Kannada period, were Naya-sēna (c. 1112), the writer of a book on Morality and Virtues, the *Dharmāmṛta*; Nāga-varman II (c. 1125) who wrote a work on rhetoric and a grammar of Kannada (the *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa*) in 269 Sanskrit *sūtras* or aphorisms; Brahma-śiva (c. 1125), who upholds the Jaina position before all other philosophies; Kīrtti-varman (c. 1125), who wrote on the diseases of cattle (*Gō-vaidya*); and Vṛtta-vilāsa (c. 1160), who wrote a *campū* on the superiority of Jainism over Brahmanism.

(3) Middle Kannada (Naḍu-gannaḍa) Period : c. 1150-1800 A. D.

(3a) Early Middle Kannada : c. 1150-1350 A. D.

The Kannada language has been steadily changing, and one noteworthy characteristic of Middle Kannada was fully established in the language by 1100 A. D.—a characteristic noted earlier, sporadically—the change of *p* to *h*, both initially and intervocally. During the second half of the 12th century, the rise of a new form of the Sivite faith profoundly influenced the Kannada people. Puranic Hinduism, with a fresh strength through this faith, checked the course of Jainism, and reigned virtually supreme for two centuries. Basava, the founder of the new faith (known as the *Vira-*

Śaiva as well as *Liṅgāyata* cult, using the *Śiva-linga* as the symbol of God) flourished during the second half of the 12th century. He took part in local politics, and succeeded in creating an enthusiasm for the tenets he preached among both princes and the people. The *Vīra-Śaiva* faith was monotheistic, and was against the Brahmanical claims to superiority, but it took for granted the mythology and the world of the *Purāṇas*. Basava and his followers used a simple and easily understood prose in writing and disseminating their teachings, and their *Vacanas* or prose works, were immensely helpful for their objective; and at the same time these brought in a new and a vigorous literary style in Kannada. Basava himself wrote a number of these *Vacanas*.

In addition to this simple prose style, some pure Kannada metres appear to have been re-discovered, evidently from a neglected folk-literature, e.g. the *ṣaṭpadī* (in Telugu a similar movement was noticed from the beginning). The *ragale*, another popular metre, was however of Prakrit origin. Eminent poets took these up, and so made their works have a greater appeal with the people. In the writings of the *Liṅgāyata* writers, Kannada as a language fully entered a new stage—it became Middle Kannada. We have a number of *Liṅgāyata* writers from the second half of the 12th century onwards. Apart from Basava himself, we have to note the following poets. Hariśvara or Harihara, who wrote a lyrical work on the early *Śaiva* saints, called the *Śivagaṇa-da-ragale* or *Nambiyaṇṇana-ragale*, from the name of the last of the 63 saints. There were other *ragale* works of the same type. A work on the marriage of *Śiva* and *Umā* is the *Girijā-kalyāṇa*, in the *campū* style, which was very popular. Rāghavāṅka, a younger contemporary, composed the *Hariścandra-kāvya*, followed by a *Sōmanātha-caritre*. He popularized in literature the *ṣaṭpadī* metre. Kereya (i. e. “the Tank Excavator”) Padmarasa was another contemporary, a militant champion of the *Vīra-Śaiva* faith, whose *Dikṣā-bōdhe*, in the *ragale* metre, is a philosophical work. His son Kumāra Padmarasa wrote a pietistic narrative the *Sānanda-caritre* based on the *Skanda Purāṇa*. (Kereya Padmarasa wrote a work with the same name in Sanskrit.) Traditionally they are looked upon as contemporaries of Basava, but competent authority would place them a century later (c. 1280-90.)

Pāṅkurike Sōma (c. 1195) wrote a centad called the *Sōmeśvara-Śataka*, on moral subjects. Then we have Dēva Kavi (c. 1200),

who wrote a romance in *campū*, the *Kusumāvalī*; and Sōmarāja composed the romance *Śṛṅgāra-rasa* (c. 1222)

The Jains were not idle during this period. From c. 1170 to 1254, as many as 9 Jaina poets composed *purāṇas* or legendary histories of various *tīrthaṅkaras* (Nēmi-nātha, the 22nd, being the most popular). Nēmi-chandra, the first of the Jaina poets who wrote a *Purāṇa* on Nēmi-nātha, composed a *campū* narrative on a romantic theme, the *Lilāvatī*. Similarly, another of these nine poets, Janna (c. 1209), wrote a romantic tale, the *Yaśōdhara-caritre*.

An early Vaishnava writer among the Kannaḍigas was the Brahman Rudra-bhaṭṭa (1172-1219), who wrote in the style of the Jaina *campūs* a history of Kṛishṇa, the *Jagannātha-vijaya*, on the basis of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.

During the 13th century, and a little later, we have to name a few more outstanding poets. Āṇḍayya (c. 1235) composed a linguistic *tour-de-force*—a poem avoiding the use of pure Sanskrit words, on the theme of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava* in Sanskrit, the *Kabbigara Kāva* ("the Poets' Defender"), called also *Sobagina Suggi* ("the Harvest of Beauty") and *Kāvana-Gella* ("Cupid's Conquest", in Sanskrit *Madana-Vijaya*); Mallikārjuna (c. 1245) and his son Kēśirāja (c. 1260) were great poets and scholars of the 13th century—the father compiled an anthology from Kannada poets, the *Sūkti-sudhārṇava*, and the latter wrote a standard grammar of Kannada, the *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa*; Kumudēndu (c. 1275) wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the popular *ṣaṭpadi* metre; Raṭṭa-Kavi (c. 1300) composed a work giving traditional explanations of many natural objects and phenomena, the *Raṭṭa-mata* or *Raṭṭa-sūtra*. We have finally Nāga-rāja (c. 1331), whose *Puṇyāsrava* is a story-book setting forth through its 52 narratives the duties of a householder; and Chāvuṇḍa-rāja, a Brahman (c. 1300), who rendered Daṇḍin's *Daśa-kumāra-carita* into Kannada in the *campū* style.

During the early part of the 14th century, the Muslims from North India were fighting the Hindus in the Deccan, and shortly after the foundation of the great Vijayanagara empire within the Kannada and Telugu tracts in 1336, the Muslims established in the North the Bahmani kingdom in 1347. The Hindus of the Telugu and Kannada countries got a respite and protection from Muslim aggression for some 225 years.

(3b) The Second Middle Kannada Period : 1350-1500 A.D.

The Vijayanagara emperors were upholders of orthodox Brahmanical Hinduism, and although they patronized Kannada, they themselves (from the next period) wrote in Sanskrit and in Telugu. (See *ante*, pp. 277, 278, 279.) This period, the first century and a half of the Vijayanagara empire, was not so prolific in Kannada composition as otherwise one would expect it to have been.

The first outstanding work of this period is Bhīma Kavi's *Basava-Purāṇa* (1369), a legendary life of the founder of the Vīra-Śaiva faith, which became very popular with the Liṅgāyatas. The work is ultra-pietistic, and hyperbolic in its narration of miracles. Then we have the following Liṅgāyāta writers: Padmaṇāṅka (c. 1385), a descendant of Padmarasa, who wrote a story of his ancestor who defeated in controversies upholders of other faiths; Mallanārya (c. 1370), who wrote on some Śaiva saints' legends; Siṅgirāja, wrote on the miracles of Basava, in popular metre; and Chāmarasa (c. 1460), composed the legendary biography of one of the companions of Basava, Allama-prabhu or Prabhuliṅga, known as the *Prabhuliṅga-līle*.

Other writers of the period were Maṅga-rāja I (c. 1360), who wrote on medicine; Madhura (c. 1385), who wrote a Jaina *purāṇa* and a devotional work in the style of the earlier Jaina poets; Abhinava-Chandra (c. 1400), who wrote on veterinary science (on *Aśva-vaidya*); and Śiśumāyaṇa (15th cen.), who started a form of lyric, the *Sāṅgatya*, which was sung or chanted with musical accompaniment: he wrote two Puranic poems, *Añjanā-caritre* and *Tripura-dahana-sāṅgatya*.

We have to mention also Nāraṇappa, a Brahman, known also as Kumāra-Vyāsa, who narrated in the *ṣaṭpadī* metre the story of the first ten books of the *Mahābhārata*: the remaining eight were similarly done after him by Tammaṇṇa—their joint labours giving a new complete *Mahābhārata* to the Kannada language.

(3c) Late Middle Kannada : 1500-1800 A. D.

In the meanwhile, while the language had been changing and taking something like its present form, by 1500, the waves of the late mediaeval Brahmanical revival through *Bhakti* reached the Kannada country, and its advent synchronized with the reign of the great Vijayanagara emperor Kṛṣṇadēva-rāya (1509-1530). The influence of Rāmaṇuja from the South, and

of Rāmananda from North India, seemed to have come to the Kannada country also. The revival had already started with fresh translations or renderings of the great Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas*, from the beginning of the 15th century.

The *Mahābhārata* in the *ṣaṭpadi* metre (by Nāraṇappa and Tammaṇṇa) was followed by a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the same metre towards the close of the 16th century by a poet known by his pen-name of Kumāra-Vālmīki, after the overthrow of the Vijayanagara empire at the battle of Tālikōṭe in 1565.

Other versions of the *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Rāmāyaṇa* were made in the 16th century. Following the Telugu version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Chāṭu Viṭṭhala-nātha Nityātmasukha made a *ṣaṭpadi* version of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, giving the story of Kṛishṇa. A Kannada rendering of specially the 10th *skandha* or section of this *Purāṇa* was done by Veṅkayya Ārya.

As a result of the Brahmanical Vaishṇava revival in the Kannada country, a number of mendicant singers began to wander about from village to village singing devotional songs. They were known as *Dāsas* or "Slaves (of God)", and they appear to have received some inspiration from Chaitanya of Bengal, who lived and taught during the latter part of his life in Puri where he died in 1533. Purandara-dāsa, who lived at Paṇḍharpur and in Vijayanagara and died in 1564, was the most famous of these *Dāsas*. A contemporary of his was Kanaka-dāsa, a *Bēḍa* or Hunter by caste, who is credited with other poems, and was in fact an important popular poet of the 16th century. The *Dāsa* tradition in composing devotional verses continued down to the 18th century, when we have, during the second half of the century, Varāha Timmappa-Dāsa, who was almost as great a writer of these songs as Purandara-dāsa himself. A collection of 402 of these songs (*Dāsara-Padagaḷu*) was made by the German Missionary Rev. Dr. Moegling, who published them in 1853. These *padas* are an important branch of popular literature of late mediaeval inspiration in Kannada.

The Liṅgayatas also produced literature during the first hundred years of this period. In 1585, the *Cenna-Basava-Purāṇa*, a hagiological work on Chenna (or Beautiful) Basava, the nephew of Basava, by Virūpāksha Paṇḍita, and the *Praudha-rāya-caritre* (c. 1595) of Ādarśa, a series of stories extolling the Liṅgayata doctrine, were composed; and we have in the 16th century the *Rājēndrarvijaya-*

purāṇa, a *campū* by Siddhalinga Yōgī, which gives an account of a Vira-Śaiva prince.

The more eminent writers of the 17th and 18th centuries may now be mentioned. In the 17th century, a good deal of the Kannada land was united under the independent native dynasty of the Wodeyars, which established a stable rule in Mysore State after its conquest of Seringapatam in 1610. But much of the Kannada tract was still under the Bijapur Sultāns (1489-1687), and then it fell to the Moguls. Early in the 17th century, in 1604, a great Jaina scholar, Bhaṭṭakalaṅka Dēva, prepared a full grammar of Kannada, the *Karṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana*, in 592 Sanskrit aphorisms, and he wrote extensive commentaries, also in Sanskrit, to the work. Śaḍakshara-dēva was a Liṅgāyata abbot who wrote three works, a romantic *campū* the *Rājaśekhara-vilāsa* (1657), and two Śaiva religious works the *Vṛṣabhendra-vijaya* (1671) and the *Śabara-śaṅkara-vilāsa*. The first is one of the most esteemed of modern Kannada poems. Lakshmiśa, a Vaishṇava Brahman, whose exact date is not known, but who possibly belongs to the early part of the 17th century (c. 1600), composed another very popular work, the *Jaimini Bhārata*, which is from a special Sanskrit version of the *Aśvamedha-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* with an accentuation on Kṛishṇa. The independent episodes in the *Mahābhārata* are treated in a highly poetic way.

Under the auspices of the Wodeyar Kings of Mysore, a number of historical compositions in Sanskrit and Kannada were written, relating particularly to the Wodeyar period, from 1650 to 1713. Similar historical literature is rare in India. Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages, only Assamese, and to some extent Rajasthani and Nepali show it. The Wodeyar King Chikka Dēva-rāya (1672-1704) was a great patron of letters, and he collected in his library historical materials which were destroyed by Ṭīpū (Haider Ali and his son Ṭīpū Sultān usurped the State of Mysore upto 1799, after which the Wodeyars were restored by the British). Chikka Dēva-rāya and his ministers and court poets, like Viśaḷaksha-paṇḍita (a Jaina), Tirumalārya (a Vaishṇava scholar of both Sanskrit and Kannada), and Chikkupādhyāya Aḷasiṅgārya (also a Vaishṇava), besides Siṅgarārya (author of a dramatic work), wrote a large number of works in the conventional style, *campūs* and *sāṅgatyas* and prose, on *Purāṇa* themes, on morals, and on devotion to God ; and there was in his court a poetess, Sanchiyya Honnamma,

who wrote a *sāṅgatyā* on the duties of the good wife, the *Hadibadeya* (i. e. *Pativrata*) *Dharma*. The Liṅgāyatas suffered a great check when their monasteries were suppressed and some of their priests massacred by King Chikka Dēva-rāya about 1680, and for some time they hardly produced any literary work. But during the middle of the 17th century a learned Liṅgāyata writer, Nijaguṇa Yōgī, had composed the *Viveka-Cintāmaṇi*, a cyclopædic work on Śaiva lore, besides other devotional, hagiographical and philosophical works.

The 17th century in the history of Kannada is noteworthy from another point of view, The Christian missionaries, Jesuits and others, at Goa became interested in Kannada, and began to compose and publish books and tracts in the language from the printing press (the first in India) which was established in Goa in 1566. Upto 1674, it is said that some 50 Kannada works were published from this press. The Italian Father Leonardo Cinnoma (died in 1644) wrote a grammar and dictionary of Kannada, and this was published from Goa in 1774. It would appear that this movement among the missionaries of Goa did not touch even the fringe of Kannada life, and Christian influences could effect an impression on the life of Karṇāṭaka only from the end of the 18th century. It is to be noted that the Baptist Missionary in Bengal, William Carey, had brought out from Serampore near Calcutta *A Grammar of the Karṇāṭaka Language* in 1817. Other European and Indian students of Kannada followed.

Nañja-rāja (c. 1760) wrote the Puranic works the *Śiva-bhakti-māhātmya*, the *Hari-vaṁśa*, and the *Liṅga-purāṇa*. Contemporary with him was Sarvajña-mūrti, who wrote poems of shrewd wordly wisdom, very popular even now, in *tripadī* verse, the *Sarvajña-padagaḷu*.

Among Jaina writers, mention may be made specially of Surala, who composed a romantic lyric *kāvya*, in *ragale* metre, the *Padmāvatī-dēvī-Kathe* (1761); and Dēva-chandra composed, c. 1800, a summary of Jaina traditions and history, the *Rājāvalī-Kathe*.

Anubhavāmṛta by Mahāliṅga Raṅga (17th century), *Haribhakti-rasāyana* of Chidānanda (18th century) and *Jñāna-sindhu* of Chidānanda Avadhūta (18th century) are among the most noted devotional and philosophical works of Brahmanism.

Towards the end of the 18th century, a new form of composition known as the *Yakṣa-gāna* became well-established, and it has continued down to the present day as a popular form of

literary entertainment. This was a kind of dramatization, with much singing, of *Purāṇa* tales, which became very popular when sung and acted by professional actors or amateurs who moved in the country-side. A good mass of folk-poetry referring to the joys and sorrows of domestic life in the popular 3-line *tripāḍi* verses, including songs of labour both in the fields and at home, became very common as folk-literature in the 18th century.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, some collections of prose tales were rendered into Kannada, from Sanskrit works like the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati-kathā*, and *Śuka-saptati* as well as *Haṃsa-viṃśati-kathā*, *Kathā-mañjarī* and *Kathā-saṅgraha*, from Hindi (*Battisa-puttali-kathe*) and from Telugu (*Tennāla-Rāmakṛṣṇa-kathe*, humorous tales about the Telugu poet who was the court jester of King Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya of Vijayanagara : see p. 280).

The language was already changing from Middle to Modern Kannada, and New or Modern Kannada (*Hosa-gannaḍa*) characteristics were making their appearance even during the Late Middle Kannada stage. The speech of the masses was more in advance than that of literature. Kempu Nārāyaṇa's *Mudrā-mañjūṣā* (1823) has been described as a landmark in this transition from Middle to New or Modern Kannada.

(4) New or Modern Kannada (*Hosa-gannaḍa*) Period : from 1800 A. D.

The Kannada country was rather isolated from the main centres of progress in India, and English and modern influences began to be operative on the life and in the literature of the people after the middle of the 19th century only, upto which time the traditional old-fashioned styles of verse and *campū* composition continue. Scholars began to prepare *ṭikās* or verbal paraphrases of the older Brahmanical *kāvyas* and *campūs*. School-books, as in the other Indian languages, paved the way for modernization of literature, and here not much advance was made in Kannada before the beginning of the 20th century, when Kannadigas first went in for modern education on a wider scale than before, taking to the serious study of English side by side with that of Sanskrit. The *ṭikās* and *Yakṣa-gānas* (the Brahman Santayya was the writer of a large number of these in the 19th century) occupied, during this century, a good deal of the literary field. Sanskrit plays rendered into Kannada,

and plays on the Sanskrit model, came into prominence during the second half of the 19th century (e. g. the *Tapatī-pariṇaya* of Varikata Varadāchārya, and the *Śakuntalā* of Basavappa Śāstrī). An important work during the first half of the 19th century was a prose version of the *Mahābhārata* made under the patronage of Mahārāja Kṛishṇa-rāja Wodeyar III (1799-1868). Prose expositions of the Vedānta philosophy, and other theistic, devotional and moralistic works were composed plentifully.

The Kannada area was divided among four States—the Provinces of Bombay and Madras, and the Feudatory States of Mysore and Hyderabad ; and the language was neglected, except in Mysore. Before progressive influences from other areas could penetrate into the Kannada areas through the English language, the Renaissance in India was going on in Bengal and elsewhere, and the Kannaḍigas, particularly in Mysore, followed their old traditional way of life. New influences first came from the Christian Missionaries, of whom F. Kittel of the Basel Mission at Mangalore did valuable service for the study of Kannada. Two Englishmen, the scholar Lewis Rice and the epigraphist J. Fleet, also contributed to the study of Early Kannada, and initiated researches into the history of both the language and the literature. Kannaḍigas were quick enough to take a new interest in their language and culture, and some literary societies and journals were started, culminating in the foundation of the *Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣad* or “Academy of Kannada Literature” in Bangalore in 1914. The Christian Missionaries from the first half of the 19th century had a good deal to do in the study and development of Kannada. The German Missionaries were conspicuous for their lexical and grammatical work (e. g. F. Kittel’s great *Kannada-English Dictionary*, Mangalore 1898, and his *Kannada Grammar* in English, comprising Old, Mediaeval and Modern Kannada, Mangalore 1903, besides editions of old texts). They translated the Bible into Kannada, and books of Christian inspiration were rendered into Kannada (like Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, St. Augustine’s *Confessions*, and a mass of Christian hymns).

The real modernizing of the literature, in both spirit and form, started rather late for Kannada, from the 20th century. Fiction, as can be expected, gave the first hint of a new viewpoint and attitude, and translations from English and also from Bengali came into prominence. The novels of Bankim

Chandra Chatterji were particularly helpful in the development of the novel in Kannada. These and other Bengali novels were translated largely by B. Veṅkaṭāchārya. Marathi literature also exerted a considerable influence on Kannada literature of the present day, considering that a good number of educated Kannadigas in Northern Kannada-land have a good knowledge of Marathi. Early in the 20th century, Kerūr and Gaḷaganātha attempted first original novels in Kannada. They were followed by M. S. Puṭṭanna, a writer of social novels. At the present day we have the following novelists of Kannada who are very popular : Śivarāma Kāranta ; K. V. Puṭṭappa—he is also a very popular poet and dramatist, and his social novel *Kānūru Subbamma Heggadati* “K. S., the Headman’s Wife”, is a very popular work in Kannada ; G. P. Rājaratnam, who is a writer of romances as well as a poet ; A. N. Kṛishṇa Rāo ; R. V. Jāgirdār (‘Śrīraṅga’) ; Basavarāja Kaṭṭimani ; R. S. Mugali ; Mirji Aṇṇārāo ; and Vināyaka Kṛishṇa Gōkak.

The short story also made its advent along with the novel. Kerūr, Pañje Maṅgēśa Rāo and Māsti Veṅkaṭēśa Ayyaṅgār (pen-name ‘Srīnivāsa’ : born 1893) were the first writers. Among the most popular short-story writers in Kannada now are Māsti Veṅkaṭēśa Ayyaṅgār, whose *Subbānna*, one of his longer stories, is rich in character-study—he is also an essayist and a poet of note ; G. P. Rājaratnam (author of *Hanigaḷu* or “Drops”), and Ānanda and Ānanda-kanda ; and A. N. Kṛishṇa Rāo is a young writer who has been a prolific producer of psychological stories intended to shock and provoke people.

The Kannada drama took a modern turn with the social dramas, not so valuable as literary creations, of Kerūr and Huyilagōḷ early in the 20th century. The dramatists are effecting a change in the language by introducing the actual colloquial for verisimilitude. T. P. Kailāsam (1885-1948), educated in England, was the leader in this branch of literature : he started an innovation by employing the actual spoken language of the middle classes and not using the ordinary archaic style of literary prose. His dramas in the comic vein, *Namma Klabbu* (“Our Club”) and *Gaṇḍaskatri* (a farce), using the colloquial, are forceful works. He also composed a serious play in English called *Purpose*, on the story of the *Mahābhārata* character Ēkalavya. R. V. Jāgirdār, Śivarāma Kāranta, Kaṣṭuri and Samsa

are other well-known play-wrights in Kannada. Kāraṇṭa is also a novelist.

Modern poetry in Kannada is now represented at its highest level by D. N. Guṇḍappa and a number of other poets. Guṇḍappa (born 1888) is also a socio-political essayist. Other poets and *prosateurs* of the new school are : B. M. Śrīkaṇṭhayya, who was Professor of English literature, and has been a great innovator in Kannada poetry, introducing the blank verse into the language, and he has rendered a number of Greek tragedies into Kannada verse, and his great tragedy of *Aśvatthāman* on a *Mahābhārata* episode was published over 30 years ago, in which he presented a new approach to ancient Indian legends ; D. R. Bēndre (pen-name 'Ambika-tanaya-Datta'), belonging to the North Kannada area, is among the most popular writers of Kannada at the present day : he is quite famous as a poet, and some look upon him as the most outstanding figure in modern Kannada literature, he being compared with Vaḷḷattōḷ, the leader of Malayalam literature of the present day (see p. 339). Bēndre has been very profoundly influenced by both Rabindranath Tagore and the political leader and philosopher Sri Aurobindo (Aravinda Ghosh) of Bengal and Pondicherry. The influence of Mahātmā Gāndhī in the thought and politics of the Kannada country is also to be recognized as one of the major forces. Bēndre's work also recalls that of Shelley and Keats, and he has composed a large number of poems which are generally not very long. He is rich in diction, in sentiment and in emotion, and he is also a great experimenter in metre. His poem *Muvattu-mura-Kōṭigaḷa* "33 Crores, or 330 Millions" is a very fine poem about the dumb masses of India. Among other works, his translation of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* is a masterpiece in Kannada.

Bēndre has been one of the founders and guiding spirits of a literary circle in Kannada which has had great influence in the revival and encouragement of literature in the language from the twenties of this century—the *Geḷeyara Gumpu* or "the Circle or Group of Friends". Other prominent members were the late poet 'Madhura-chenna' (the pen-name of Halasaṅgi Chenna-mallapa), Dr. V. K. Gōkak and Dr. R. S. Mugaḷi. It was quite active for over a decade, and it can be compared to the earlier and more specialized *Sabuj Patra* or "Green Leaf" Group in Bengali started by Pramatha Chaudhuri (see p. 188), and

similar other associations for Oriya, Telugu and Marathi. The *Gumpu* had its headquarters at Dharwar, and was very powerful in northern Karṇāṭaka. It encouraged literary talent in all directions in Kannada, conducted a high-class literary journal, the *Jaya Karṇāṭaka*, and collected and published folk-songs. For nearly two decades, upto the forties, it was a great force in the Kannada Renaissance.

We have to mention, among the earlier poets, V. 'Sītā-rāmayya', 'Madhura-chenna', Sāli Rāmachandra Rāo and Ānanda-kanda ; and among the later poets, K. V. Puṭṭappa 'Ku-veṃ-pu' (he has been noted before as a great novelist : Professor of Kannada, and then Vice-Chancellor in Mysore University, he is a prolific writer, and apart from his novels and a tragedy in the Shakspearean vein, the *Raktākṣī*, he has also composed a very fine *Rāmāyaṇa* in verse : his lyrics, devotional and otherwise, are widely popular, and some of these have been beautifully rendered into Sanskrit by C. G. Purushōttama) ; P. T. Narasimhāchār (author of lyrics and lyrical plays) ; R. S. Muḡali, whose pen-name is 'Rasika-raṅga' ; Saṅkara Bhaṭṭa ; Gōvinda Pai ; and Vināyaka Kṛishṇa Gōkak, pen-name 'Vināyaka', who is both a novelist and a poet—his poem *Rasaṇimiṣagaḷu* or "Moments of Supreme Experience" is well-known.

These poets are mostly in the romantic vein, but they are also looking at life with the eyes of the wonder of a new discovery.

In the literary essay of a personal type, we have A. N. Mūrti Rāo, who has created a new field, and has found a high place for himself in New Kannada ; Māsti Veṅkatēśa Ayyaṅgār 'Śrinivāsa', a distinguished essayist, poet and critic also, who has been noted before among the outstanding novelists and short-story writers of modern Kannada ; Pañje Maṅgēśa Rāo, who is among the older writers, and quite an important figure in Kannada for his prose ; and Professor T. N. Śrīkaṇṭhayya, who is a well-known writer on linguistic and literary topics, and is also a poet of note. P. T. Narasimhāchār, mentioned above among poets, has also written very fine personal essays. R. Narasimhāchārya, P. G. Haḷakatti, Śrīnivāsa Mūrti, R. S. Muḡali (author of a history of Kannada Literature) and Gōvinda Pai are other prominent literary critics of Kannada, whose names have been mentioned before.

There is a great demand in Kannada now of a prose literature of information, and the University of Mysore and

the Karnāṭaka University at Dharwar, as well as the *Kannāḍa Sāhitya Pariṣad* of Mysore, are now the custodians of the language and its literature ; and a brilliant future can be expected through these and other agencies for the literature of Kannada.

TAMIL LITERATURE

Outside of Sanskrit literature (and the literatures in Modern Indian Languages both Aryan and Dravidian which have accepted Sanskrit literature as their model and inspiration), the literature of Tamil has preserved an independent tradition which is at least 2000 years old. The leaven of Indo-Aryan was working in Tamil as in all other Indian non-Aryan speeches. But although Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit and Prakrit) words were being adopted, along with the forms and the content (more the content than the forms) of Indo-Aryan literature, Tamil developed a literary mode of its own which is essentially South Dravidian. The ancestors of the present-day Tamilians were a highly cultivated section of the Dravidian-speaking people who took a great interest in literature ; and, according to tradition, *Cāṅkams* or *Sangams* (a word taken over from Buddhism—the Indo-Aryan *Saṅgha*) or “Literary Assemblies” flourished in the Tamil-land from fairly high antiquity—though not so remote an antiquity as has been claimed for them by some ardent and patriotically minded Tamil writers. These *Sangams* encouraged poets and appraised poetical compositions, and received the support of the Tamil princes. The first two *Sangams* are placed in a very ancient and improbable antiquity. The third *Sangam* goes back to the second half of the first millennium B. C., and the earliest extant works of Tamil go back traditionally to the close of this *Sangam* period, in the centuries immediately before and after Christ. Actually, there are some important works still current, which are connected with the third *Sangam*. These works in their original form may go back to the centuries immediately around Christ, but the form in which they are preserved—their language—cannot be older than the second half of the first millennium A. D. During this period, some far-reaching sound-changes, which modified Ancient Tamil to the ordinary Old Tamil of the oldest books, took place. (A parallel instance is presented by Old Irish literature. The stories of the Old Irish heroes and heroines like Cuchulainn and Emer, Conchobar and Medb, Noisi and Derdriu of the epic cycle of the *Táin Bó Cúalinge*, and of Oisín and Find Mac Cumhal and Diarmuid and Graine

and others, go back to the early centuries round about Christ, but these are preserved in later versions of the 11th-12th centuries and even later, in which the subject-matter and the literary form might not have changed much, but the language certainly had altered profoundly).

In various places in the Southern area of the Tamil country, some incipations in huge Brahmi letters have been found, but their language is still problematical. These belong to the 3rd century B. C., epigraphically; they may be partly in Tamil, partly in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit), or in a mixed speech. Leaving these aside, we may say that upto c. 500 A. D. is the period of Ancient Tamil. During the Ancient Tamil period, probably c. 1st century A. D., the oldest Tamil books that we have were written. But they appear to have been preserved in a later form of the language, as it took shape from after 500 A. D., when we have what may be called the 'Old Tamil' stage (*Paṇan-tamiṇ*, the refined literary form of which is called *Cen-tamiṇ*). Ancient Tamil, which can be labelled as **Damiṇa* (the form **Damiṇa* is evidently the source of the Sinhalese *Damiṇa* and the Greek **Damir-* in the name *Damirike* = **Damiṇakam*, which became in later Old Tamil *Tamiṇakam* = the Tamil-land), appears to have possessed voiced stops initially as well as medially (g, j, ḍ, d, b), as well as a sibilant s. But in the later literary Old Tamil or *Cen-tamiṇ*, the voiced sounds were all unvoiced, and the sibilant was dropped, or changed to other sounds. *Cen-tamiṇ* or the refined form of the Old Tamil language, in which the oldest extant books of Tamil are found, is contrasted with *Koḍun-damiṇ* or 'uncultivated or vulgar Tamil', under which scholars would bring all forms of Tamil which are current at the present-day (and which should properly be called *Pu-t-tamiṇ*). The alphabet of Old Tamil, which still is current for New or Modern Tamil, and the tradition or system of Tamil orthography which has accommodated itself now to the modern Tamil pronunciation (which is quite different from that of Old Tamil and which makes a new language of it), were adopted early during the second millennium A. D.

Taking note of the stages in the history of the Tamil language, which also roughly correspond to the main lines of the political and religious history of the Tamil country, the history of

Tamil literature may be divided (along with that of the language) into the following periods :

- (1) Ancient Tamil, to c. 500 A. D. (including the period of the Early Dynasties during the first three centuries after Christ—Coṟa, Pāṇṭiya and Cēra).
- (2) Old Tamil or Classical Tamil (*Pāṇ-tamiṟ*, *Cen-tamiṟ*) —500-1350 A.D. (*Pallava*, *Cālukya*, *Coṟa*).
- (3) Middle Tamil (*Iṭai-t-tamiṟ*), 1350-1800 A. D. (The later Cholas, Vijayanagara Empire, the principalities, the Nāyaks of Madura, 18th century).
- (4) New or Modern Tamil (*Pu-t-tamiṟ*, *Putu-t-tamiṟ* ; or *Koṭun-damiṟ*, 'Vulgar' Tamil) : after 1800 A. D. (British Rule, and after.)

A language with a continuous literary development for some 1800 to 2000 years cannot remain stationary all through, although there may be a persistent literary use of old forms, styles and even grammatical forms. The oldest literature of Tamil, upto 1350 A. D., is not understood by Tamilians of the present day without special study, as much as Old and Early Middle English would be unintelligible for Modern English speakers. A word like the Sanskrit *Bhagavata*—*Bhagavān*, 'Lord' became in Ancient Tamil of c. 100 A. D, **Bagavata*—*Bagavan*, and then in Old Tamil or Classical Tamil (*Pāṇ-tamiṟ*, or *Cen-tamiṟ*) this changed to *Pakavata*—*Pakavan*, by 500 A. D., and was written in the contemporary Pallava script as such. This pronunciation (with only unvoiced stops) seems to have continued down to the beginning of the Middle Tamil period. Then, probably after 1350 A. D., in Middle Tamil (*Iṭai-t-tamiṟ*) it changed to *pagavada*—*pagavan*, interior (unvoiced) stop consonants becoming voiced ; and now in Modern or New Tamil (*Pu-t-tamiṟ*) it is pronounced as *pagavada* (or, rather as *paṇaṇaṇa*, or *pahavaṇa*, the interior consonants as a rule being spirantized, much as in Spanish), but the word is actually written in the Old Tamil way as *pakavata*, the change of pronunciation notwithstanding.*

*In transcribing Tamil words in this section, a rigid Roman transliteration of the Tamil orthography along the lines of the University of Madras *Tamil Lexicon* has been sought to be followed, for the names of works and authors belonging to the earlier periods. Only I have used *ṟ* rather than *l* or *ḷ* (*Tamiṟ*, not *Tamiḷ*). For the later periods, rigid transliteration has not been followed, current pronunciation or English orthography being frequently preferred.

Many Tamilians take pride that of all the living Indian languages, theirs is the oldest, going back to at least 2000 years from now. But it has not been the same language—as it can easily be understood : there has been a development in which we can mark three stages of Old (Classical), Middle and New Tamil, the first being generally unintelligible for an ordinary Tamil person at the present day without special study. Just as we have an Old or Classical Tibetan as contrasted with Modern Tibetan, an Old or Classical Armenian (called by the name of *Grabar*) as contrasted with Modern Armenian, and an Old English (or Anglo-Saxon i. e. English from 500 to 1100 A.D.) as a very different language from New or Modern English, so is *Cen-tamiz* or Classical Tamil or Old Tamil a different speech from Modern Tamil. In a similar way, the Prakrits of a thousand years ago may be described as the earlier forms of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. There has been however an unbroken continuity of literary output from *Cen-tamiz* to *Pu-t-tamiz*, as much as there has been from Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa to Bhāṣā or New Indo-Aryan.

(1) Ancient Tamil : to 500 A.D., and

(2) Old Tamil : 500-1350 A. D.

As said before, the literature produced during the first few centuries after Christ, the works of the *Sangam* poets, was projected into the next or Old Tamil period. The name 'Ancient Tamil' is proposed as indicating the period when 'Old Tamil' had a fuller sound system, and its orthography, as we find it now, appears not to have been fully established. The two periods may for convenience be best taken together. During this Ancient Tamil period, the study of the Tamil language was taken up by Tamil scholars, emulating the great impetus to grammatical studies in Sanskrit which manifested itself in Northern India during the middle of the 1st millennium B. C. Brahman scholars and sages like Agastya (Akattiyar), according to both Tamil and North Indian tradition, came down South into the Tamil country, probably before 600 B. C; and a disciple of Agastya is said to have composed the first grammar of Tamil—*Tolkāppiyar*, known after his work the *Tolkāppiyam*. The work, however, treats of the Literary or Classical Old Tamil of the second half of the first millennium A. D., and not the hypothetical Ancient Tamil with its

fuller sound system ; and it presupposes a rich literature in this Old Tamil, with its fixed literary genres, its own ideals and motifs and its own modes of expression, which are rather distinct from those of Sanskrit literature.

The *Tolkāppiyam* treats of Letters (*eḻuttu*), that is the Phonology of *Cen-tamiḻ* ; of Words, and Forms and Inflexions (*col*) : and of Subject-matter of Poetry (*poruḷ* = *artha*)—in its three parts. The section on *poruḷ* gives us a vivid and a full analysis of the content of Old Tamil poetry ; and the milieu (within which the subjective poetry or *akam* dealing with love, and the objective poetry or *pur'am* dealing with warfare) originated is fully discussed. The basic human qualities are there, but the setting is unique in India, and gives to Old Tamil poetry its peculiar and original *cachet*, its surroundings and atmosphere. The sentiment of love is elaborately analysed, and different moods in love are classified, and different aspects of love are made to fit in with the natural aspects of the earth. Thus, in Love, Union or *puṇartal*, Separation or *pirital*, Patience in Separation or *iruttal*, Waiting or *iraṅkal*, and Sulking or *uṭal*, are connected respectively with Mountains or *kur'iñci*, Desert or *pālai*, Forests or *mullai*, Sea-beach or *neytal*, and Fields or *marutam* ; and these are similarly connected with the Six Seasons (the idea of the six seasons is also found in North India), viz. Rainy or Cloudy (*kār*), Cold (*kuḷir*), Early Dew (*mun-pani*), Late Dew (*pin-pani*), Spring (*iḷa-venil*), and Summer (*mutu-venil*), and with the Six Divisions of the Day, viz. the First Hours of the Night (*mālai*), Midnight (*yāmam*), the Small Hours of the Night (*vaikar'ai*), Morning (*kālai*), Noon (*naṇṇapakal*) and Evening (*erpaṭu*). We have thus, in connexion with the treatment of Love in Old Tamil *Ars Poetica*, a very extensive division or classification of this type. *Pur'am* or objective war-poetry (and by extension, other descriptive poetry) is similarly divided into seven categories, e. g. *veṭci* or Cattle-raid, *vañci* or Invasion, *uḻiñai* or Siege, *tumpai* or War, *vākai* or Victory, *kāñci* or Counsel, and *patam* or Encomium, corresponding to the seven categories in love (and other subjective) poetry (*akam*), the five as symbolized (as indicated above) by Mountains, Desert, Forest, Sea-beach and Fields, besides improper or forbidden love (*perum-tiṇai*) and unreciprocated love (*kaikkiḷai*). Flowers and plants peculiar to the Tamil country similarly have special *symbolic

values in Old Tamil Poetry. All this furnishes to Classical Tamil Literature its special background and character.

Ancient Tamil Poetry, as preserved in the *Cen-Tamiz* or Old Tamil *Sangam* literature, is the Tamil poets' appreciative description and criticism of Old Tamil life in peace and war, in love and adventure. This literature in its totality is a unique thing in the Literature of the World, in both its truth and its beauty, and it may be compared with any original type of literary expression anywhere in the world—e. g. the Old Bedouin Arab literature of pre-Muslim and early Muslim times in Arabia : the early literatures of the Celtic world as in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, of the Old Slav world as in the Old Russian epic of "the Word about Igor's Folk" (*Slovo O Polku Igorevye*) and in Old Czech romantic tales about Libusa and Premysl, and of the ancient Germanic world as on the continent, in England and in Scandinavia ; the Old Chinese literature ; the mythological and legendary literature of Old Japan as in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* ; and the pre-Spanish literatures of the Aztecs and the Mayas of Mexico and Guatemala, and of the Incas of Peru in South America.

The main works in the *Sangam* literature of Old Tamil have been preserved in the form of anthologies, and of a few long poems. The anthologies are collections of short or long poems by different authors, or verses by the same author. The most important works are the following :

(1) The *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* or "The Ten Idyls". These ten poems range from 782 to 103 lines, and they are by 8 different poets (two, Narkkīrar and Iruttiran Kaṇṇanār being each responsible for two), and are dedicated, eight of them, to Tamil kings and princes and refer to Tamil kings who all flourished in the second half of the first century A. D.

Narkkīrar (Nar'-k-kīrar="He of Good Speech"—Nakkīvar in a later form of the name) was one of the greatest poets of ancient Tamil, and many romantic stories are narrated about him, particularly about his marrying a princess who was much too proud of her book-learning. He is the author of two of these Idyls—(i) the *Tiru-muruka-ar'r'u-p-paṭai* or "Guide to the God Murukan" (317 lines) ; and (ii) the *Neṭu-nal-vāṭai* or "Long and Good Winter" (188 lines), forming the 10th and the 6th in the collection, following Professor J. V. Chelliah's classification. The former celebrates the Tamil God of Youth and Manly Beauty and War,

Murukan', who was the same as Skanda, Kārttikēya, Subrahmaṇya or Kumāra, the Son of Śiva and the Lover and Husband of Valli. It gives us some glimpses of the Old Tamil pantheon and religion, how it was approximating to the Aryan. *Neṭu-nal-vāṭai* is a very beautiful poem, giving an account of the Pāṇṭiya (Pāṇḍya) King Neṭum-Cheliyan' out in campaign with his soldiers, while in dreary winter his queen is pining away for him : incidentally beautiful descriptions of the effect of winter on various classes of men and women and on animal life are given. Iruttiran' Kaṇṇan'ār (i. e. Rudra Kṛishṇa or Kaṇha) composed the Idyls nos. 4 and 2, the *Perum-pān-ar'r'u-p-paṭai* ("Guidance to a Bard, Pānan, playing on the *perum* or big *yal* or harp") in 500 lines and the *Paṭṭina-p-palai* ("City and Desert—Separation from Husband in City") in 301 lines. The former gives a graphic description of the life of the different communities, Brahmans and others, in town and in the country in a part of the Tamil land ; and the second one consists of an account of an ancient Tamil town, *Pukar* or *Kāviripattinam*, with a slight love theme as an introduction. Idyl no 1, in 284 lines, The *Porunār-ar'r'u-p-paṭai* ("Guidance to a Porunan or Bard") by Muṭattama-k-Kaṇṇiyan', is a panegyric on Karikkāla Chola (*Coṣa*) and his conquest of North India upto the Himalayas, and on his glorious and just rule. The economic and social life of the age is also reflected in this poem. Nar'r'an'ār is the author of the fifth poem in this anthology, in 269 lines—the *Cir'upāṇār'r'u-p-paṭai*, which is a shorter poem of the type of the *Perum-pān-ar'r'u-p-paṭai*, and in the course of a panegyric on King Nalliya-koṭan it gives a very simple and poetic account of life and poetical fancies of the period. The *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu* of Nappūtan'ār (third in the group, 103 lines) is a beautiful Idyl on the sorrows of separation, where a young queen waits for her warrior king gone to war, and finally he returns in triumph to his love. The *Maturai-k-kāñci* by Māṃkuṭi Mārutan'ār is the eighth Idyl, of 782 lines, and this is a panegyric on King Neṭum Cheliyan and his victories, with incidental descriptions in glowing and graphic language of life in the Maturai (Madura) country and a sermonizing on the virtues to be cultivated by a pious and just king. Idyl no. 7 is the *Kuriñci-p-pāṭṭu* of Kapilar, in 261 lines, which is a very charming love idyl ; and the remaining Idyl, no. 9, the *Malai-paṭu-kaṭām* (or the *Kuttar-ar'r'u-p-paṭai*) of Perum-Kauchikan'ār (meaning "Mountain Echo", or "Guidance to a

Dancer"), in 583 lines, describes the mountain country to the west of the Tamil-land, and the life of the people there, and it celebrates a King Nannan.

(2) Pride of place should be given in Ancient and Old Tamil literature not only to these "Ten Idyls", but also to another group of collections of poems of a similar character known as the *Eṭṭuttokai* or "the Eight Collections", which consists of shorter poems by representative poets of the age, including some of the authors of the "Ten Idyls". The "Eight Collections" are as follows :

(a) *Nar'r'inaṭi* : 400 short lyrics on love by 175 poets, in the *akaval* metre, collected by the Pāṇṭiya (Pāṇḍya) King Composed Maranvaṇṭi.

(b) *Kur'um-tokai* or "Collection of Short Lyrics" : 402 stanzas, also on love, by 204 different poets, compiled by Purikkō.

(c) *Aṅkur'u-nur'u* or "the Short 500", an anthology of love poems by five poets, arranged according to the classifications in Tolkāppiyar's work. About 100 of the total number are by the poet Kapilar. It was compiled by the Old Tamil scholar, Kuṭalūr Kīṣar.

(d) *Patir'r'uppāttu* or "The Ten Tens", consists of groups of ten poems, each of which is by one of 10 different poets, eulogizing the Chēra Kings. The first and the last decads are missing, and the poets and their compositions are of the same group as in the case of the "Ten Idyls".

(e) *Pari-pāṭal* ("Strophic Stanzas"), originally a collection of 70 pieces, now represented in a fragmentary form by 24 pieces by 13 poets. It consists of praises of Tamil deities like Viṣṇu (Tiru-māl) and Murukan, the river Vaikai, the city of Maturai, and the Ocean.

(f) *Kali-t-tokai*, or *Kur'um-Kali-t-tokai* ("Anthology of Short Poems")—150 love poems following all the conventions of Old Tamil poetics, in various Old Tamil metres.

(g) *Aka-nān'ur'u* or *Neṭum-tokai*, or *Aka-p-pāṭṭu*, or *Akam*—400 lyrics on love.

(h) *Pur'a-nān'ur'u*, or *Pur'am*, 400 pieces, poems of war and statecraft, by some 150 poets.

The above two groups—the "Ten Idyls" and the "Ten Tens", form a very special expression of the Old Tamil world of life and love through poetry, and they present quite a

unique world of culture in India. The Romance of Old Tamil Life during the first half of the first millennium A. D. is offered before the reader in this most characteristic production of the *Tamiz-Kalaimakal*—"Dramiḍa-sarasvatī"—or the Old Tamil Muse ; and as an original criticism as well as a truthful painting of life, they are to be counted among the best expressions of a purely national and regional civilization—albeit within the broader framework on a pan-Indian Aryan-Dravidian culture.

Longer narrative poems—almost epics—with the same cultural background and composed by poets of the *Sangam* or Ancient and Old Tamil Period are the Five *Kāvya*s, *Pañca-kāviyam*, as they were described. These are—

(i) *Cilapp-atikāram* ("the Lay of the Anklet") by Ilam-kō-v-aṭikal, a Jaina, and a Chēra prince. This poem describes the love of the young merchant Kovalan and the hetaira Mātavi. It is a romantic poem with a tragic ending with the execution of Kovalan by the King of Madurai who believed Kovalan to be guilty of a theft, and the death of Kannaki, Kovalan's faithful wife. It is valuable for the gorgeous account of life in the Tamil-land during the early centuries after Christ.

(ii) *Maṇi-mēkalai* by Chitalai-ch-Chattānar, a Buddhist. It narrates how Maṇi-mēkalai, the daughter of Kovalan and the hetaira Mātavi, became early in her youth a Buddhist nun, refusing the love of a prince who wanted to marry her. The work reflects the life and culture of the age, like the *Cilapp-atikāram*, and is replete with disquisitions on Buddhism, Jainism and other sects and systems and their doctrines.

(iii) *Cīvaka-cintāmaṇi*, by a Jain poet, Tiru-t-takka-tēvar : typical edifying Jaina story of love and romance and religiosity, which, artistically, is looked upon as one of the most beautiful works in Old Tamil. But this work is artificial and extravagant in its story, and quite different in spirit from the *Cilapp-atikāram* and the *Maṇi-mēkalai* : these latter in their sincerity and verisimilitude and freshness and naturalness are among the finest works representing the Old Tamil culture-world.

(iv) *Kuṇṭala-kēci*, and

(v) *Valaiyāpati* are Buddhistic works, the subject-matter of both of which is known, but the Old Tamil poems are now lost. They were love romances of the usual North Indian type and North Indian inspiration.

On the basis of the lost Prakrit (*Paiśācī*) work the *Bṛhat-kathā*, Koṅku-velir, a *Sangam* poet and a Jaina, wrote the romantic poem the *Perum-katai*, giving the beautiful and once very popular and well-known story of King Udayana of Kauśāmbī and his winning of Vāsavadattā the daughter of King Pradyōta of Ujjaiyini. This is a striking evidence of Northern literary themes and stories becoming popular and then fully adopted and naturalized in the Tamil language, apart from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*, besides Buddhist and Jaina story literature. There are also five other minor romantic poems in the style of the *Civaka-cintāmaṇi*, incuding another poem on the story of Udayana, attributed to Jaina writers.

The Ancient Tamilians as a branch of "the Drāviḍa race" had their own primitive religion, which, like the sum-total of Dravidian myths, legends and religious ideologies, was largely—almost in its entirety—accepted in post-Vedic Brahmanism, and thereby transformed and made "to suffer a sea change" by being made pan-Indian. The basic ideas and practices of Yōga, and the worship of Umā and Śiva and Viṣṇu and Śrī have their Dravidian foundations also. But the primitive Dravidian religion itself got its tinge of Brahmanism very early, and the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan pantheons were merged to form the all-inclusive Brahmanical pantheon (together with a some other elements taken from the Kolians or Austrics and the Mongoloids). With the Tamilians of ancient times, as in the *Sangam* literature, we find this kind of a composite religion as the one established among and followed by the people, in which Brahmans from the North with their Sanskrit language and Aryan heritage of the Vedas, as the organizers of this composite religion, were having an honoured place. Side by side with this neo-Brahmanism (which took shape during the early centuries of the 1st millennium B. C.) came to the South also Buddhism and Jainism; and these last two, particularly Jainism, with their appeal to the masses through the vernacular Tamil, became quite wide-spread, both as philosophical doctrines and as popular faiths. From the *Sangam* period i.e. Ancient Tamil period, Jaina writers are quite prominent in the Tamilland. After c. 500 A. D., or may be even earlier, a sort of revived Brahmanical Hinduism, i. e. Puranic Hinduism, with its

great Cosmic Divinities Śiva and Umā, and Śrī and Viṣṇu, became predominant in North India with the establishment of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta empires; and this movement came to the Tamil land also, receiving the fullest support and encouragement from the Pallava monarchs, who were the first great temple-builders in the South. From after 500 A. D. we have a most remarkable literary expression in Old Tamil of a faith in a Personal Divinity conceived either as Śiva or as Viṣṇu; and the brain and the heart, the thought and the emotions of Tamilians during the second half of the 1st millennium A. D. gave abiding evidence of its profundity and its beauty in the literature produced by a band of Sivite and Vishnuite devotees and religious poets—the Nāyan'mārs and the Āzhvārs. But this period of fervour was preceded by a period of moralizing and didacticism in literature which started from Ancient Tamil period and which continued for some centuries during the Old Tamil period also; and Jaina writers had a great share in it.

The didactic poems and collections are 18 in number, called the *Paṭi-n'eṇ-kīṇ-k-kaṇakku* or "the Eighteen Minor Didactics". These are collections of short poems or distichs by the same writer; only one of these 18, the *Nālaṭiyār* or "the 400 Quatrains", is an anthology from various poets. The poets belonged to the *Sangam* age, and were Brahmans, Jains and non-Brahman Hindus. The poems are not only on Morality, on Folk Wisdom and on the Ideals of a Good Life, but also on the Seasons, on War, and on Love. It is not necessary to name all the 18 collections. The most famous is the *Kur'aḷ* of Tiru-vaḷḷuvar, which is one of the most remarkable and most esteemed works of Tamil. Tiru-vaḷḷuvar was born in a low caste (his sister Auvaiyar was also a poet), and he composed distichs on the three of the four aims of human life—the *catur-varga* as they are called in Sanskrit, or *nār'pal* in Tamil—viz. *dharma* or Virtue, *artha* or Possessions, *kāma* or Love and Enjoyment, and *mōkṣa* or Salvation (in Old Tamil respectively *ar'am*, *porūḷ*, *iṇṇam*, and *viṭu*). Tiru-vaḷḷuvar did not treat of *mōkṣa*, so his work really treats of *mu-p-pal* or *tri-varga*, only the three out of the four aims of man's life (*puruṣārtha*). Tiru-vaḷḷuvar's religious position is not known—he is claimed by both Hindus and Jains, but it is clear he believed in a personal God. The *Kur'aḷ* embodies in

beautiful language, with a wealth of poetic imagery and elicitious expression, the typical Wisdom-Literature of India, and the combination of poetry with high moral ideals as set forth in this work has given this book a unique place in Indian literature. As a didactic work giving a picture and a criticism of life, it is a very fine piece of composition ; but it is not great as imaginative and creative literature of the highest rank. Nevertheless, it has been declared by most Tamilians competent to speak about their literature to be one of the greatest, if not the greatest, compositions in their language. There is a great deal of very fine expression in terse and beautiful language both of worldly wisdom and of the great virtues, and the section on Love is charming and exquisite in its poetry. It has been translated several times into English, and versions are found in other European languages including Latin, besides recent translations in Bengali and Hindi.

The amount of literary output in Old Tamil during the first half of the first millennium A. D. was quite extensive, and there are stories about a large number of poets, whose works are also extant, belonging to this age.

Śaiva and Vaishṇava writers were also in this group, but they began to be prominent after the Brahmanical revival from the Gupta and early Pallava periods, and from after 600 A. D. this new spirit (rather than a revival) made its éclatant advent in Tamil literature. In the hands of the Śaiva saints and mystics, the Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy of Tamil-nad developed, and this development was connected with the Śaiva Schools of Kashmir and other places in North India. And the Vaishṇava saints also helped to lay the foundation to the *Bhakti* cult, not only for South India but for North India as well, during the period 500-1000 A. D.

The *corpus* of the Old Tamil Śaiva hymns and other poems by these saints and other writers was prepared in the 11th century A. D. (c. 975—1035 A. D.) by the Brahman Nampi-y-aṇṭār-nampi, in a series of collections in 11 groups known as the *Tiru-murais*. The first seven *Tiru-murais* are collectively known as the *Tēvāram*, hymns described as "Garland of the Deity", and the saints Champantar (Sambandha), Appar and Chuntarar (Sundara) are the authors. In the 8th *Tiru-murai*, we have the *Tiru-vācakam* or hymns of devotion by Maṇikka-Vāchakar, the fourth of the great Tamil Śaiva saints. The

remaining three *Tiru-murais* give poems of other Śaiva writers, ancient and late—ancient like the *Sangam* poet Narkkīrar himself and a great Yōgī Tiru-mūlar, and among later poets the compiler has included 10 of his own compositions and those of some of his contemporaries. Māṇikka-vāchakar is perhaps the greatest of the Śaiva saints of this group, and his hymns, translated into English by G. U. Pope (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900) and recently by Tiruvāchakamaṇi K. M. Bālasubrahmanyam (Madras, 1958), are among the profoundest and most poignant compositions by man showing his spiritual unrest and his realization of the Supreme Truth, and his ultimate *abandon* in faith and love, as the crowning result of his being before his Lord and of his conviction of having received His grace (*aruḷ*). The Śaiva saints of the Tamil-land are known as the Nāyan'mārs and later as the Chittar (i. e. the Siddhas). The exact dates of the oldest Śaiva saints are not known, but it would appear that they flourished after 500 A. D. The oldest were Tiru-Mūlar, and then Champantar and Appar who were contemporaries—it may be that they may go back to the 4th century A. D. even. Chuntarar (Sundara) came after them, and Māṇikka-vāchakar might have belonged to the 7th-8th centuries A. D., during the period of the Pallavas, when a remarkably great art of sculpture and architecture, keeping pace with the grandeur of the Puranic Hindu conceptions in mythology and of Brahmanical thought and faith came into being in the Tamil country. The legends about all these Saints (63 in number) form an important section of the sacred literature of the Tamil Śaiva Hindus, and they are narrated in the Tamil *Periya-purāṇam* by Chekkilar, who flourished some time after Nampi-y-āṇṭār-nampi (12th century); and this work became very helpful in bringing about a strengthening of religion through the Śiva cult in Tamil-land.

The Vaishṇava saints of Tamil-land are the 18 Ālwārs or Āzhvārs (*Āṇvārs*), and their compositions were collected in a huge work, the *Nāl-āyira-p-pirapantam* (*prabandham*) or "the Book of 4000 Hymns" by a Vaishṇava teacher and saint, Śrī Nātha-muni, who (like Nampi-y-āṇṭār-nampi, the collector of the Śaiva *Tiru-murai*) lived in the 11th century. The "Golden Legend" of these Vaishṇava saints is narrated in a work called the *Āṇvār-vaipavam* (= *vaibhavam*). The Vaishṇavas of Tamil-land look upon "the Book of 4000 Hymns" as 'the Tamil Veda'; and in it as also in

the *Tiru-murais* we have the first clear expression in Indian vernacular literature of the *Bhakti* doctrine of full faith (with complete self-abnegation) in God conceived as Vishṇu or as Śiva. This *Bhakti* School of the South, in the centuries after the coming of the Muslims, formed one of the main springs of Hindu religious and cultural revival over the widest field imaginable.

Among the Tamil Vaishṇava saints was a woman, Āṇḍāl (Āṇḍāl) or Gōḍā, who approached the Godhead through love, and conceived of God incarnate as Kṛishṇa. She composed 30 verses in the work known as *Tiruppāvai* (= Śrī-vrata), which are quite exquisite in their poetic quality, and they form one of the earliest employments of the love between Man and Woman as a symbol of a mystic and devotional experience through the figure of Kṛishṇa and the Gōpīs, which later on took up such an important place in the *Bhakti* literature as well as the general poetic literature of North India. The *Tiruppāvai* has been rendered into English and Sanskrit, and also into Bengali directly from the Tamil.

A Tamil scholar of unknown date, Aiyanar-Itanar, possibly in the same 11th century, made a collection of Old Tamil verses in the *Veṇṇpā* metre by *Sangam* poets on war and other allied topics—the *Pur'a-poruḷ-veṇṇpā-mālai*—a work which in spirit and subject-matter belongs to “the Ten Idyls” and “the Ten Tens” class of compositions.

Space will not permit us to name even the major poets of Tamil and to mention their principal works upto 1000 A. D. Composition and compilation were accompanied by commentaries and by grammatical and rhetorical treatises which present a respectable mass of literature in Early Tamil.

In the meanwhile, a great national dynasty, that of the Cholas (Cozas), became the rulers over the Tamil country during the 10th-13th centuries, and the Cholas built up a vast Tamil empire extending from West Bengal to Cape Comorin. The Tamil kings of this dynasty spread their empire beyond the sea (11th century), to Malaya and South Siam as well as the Andamans and the Nicobars. There was a general mental and cultural uplift of the Tamil people, and literature and art flourished in all the various ways. Three great poets arose in Tamil during the early Chola period. Their exact dates are not known—but they appear to have flourished in the 10th-11th centuries. Their names are Kampan, Oṭṭakkūttan and Pukazhēnti.

Kampan is the author of the most esteemed version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil. He is one of the greatest poets of Tamil, and his *Rāmāyaṇa*, which does not follow the Sanskrit in all details, has original episodes and distinctively new treatments of the theme and the characters. It is in the spirit of Classical or Ancient Tamil poetry, and generations of critics have appreciated its excellences in imagination, in reflexion, in simile and metaphor, and in its high and serious style of narration. It is a work in which the Old Tamil is definitely moving towards Middle and New Tamil, and hence it is easier to follow for present-day readers than the earlier *Sangam* poets, the *Nāyan'mārs* and the *Āzhvārs*: as much as Chaucer and Wyclif would be better understood by modern English readers than Layamon and Cynewulf. His style, compared with that of *Vālmīki* in the original Sanskrit, is more diffuse, more elaborate and ornamental: and this can only be expected, considering that he is at the end of the old tradition of *Sangam* poetry and at the beginning of a new one of mediaeval Tamil poetry, with its strong Brahmanical or pan-Indian Hindu leanings.

Oṭṭakkūttan was a rival of Kampan, but he completed the *Rāmāyaṇa* by composing the last canto (the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*). He had a few other works to his credit.

Pukazhēnti, who was a great rival of Oṭṭakkūttan', popularized the *Mahābhārata* through his simple and beautiful adaptations in Tamil of a number of its episodes and its chief incidents. The *veṇṇpā* metre was used by him to perfection. His *Nala-veṇṇpā* gives the story of Nala and Damayantī in the style of the older Tamil poets, and his fame chiefly rests on this. In addition to *Mahābhārata* themes, Pukazhēnti also composed other works, like the *Rattinacurukkam*, a poem in 71 stanzas describing the beauty of women, and the *Kalampākam*, a work on metre and poetic subtleties, as well as panegyrics (*ulā*) on some of the Chola princes, for which he received presents of money. Altogether, though not so great as Kampan, he was a versatile poet.

A special development of *Śiva-bhakti* and *Śiva-jñāna* took place during the rule of the Chola emperors who were staunch Śaivas, and the works of Nampī-y-āṇṭār-nampī (the collections in the *Tiru-murai*) and of Chekkilar (the *Periya-purāṇam*) gave a great impetus to it. A new line of Śaiva philosophers who

established the *Śaiva-Siddhānta* Philosophy, and one of Śaiva devotees, came into being during the 11th-14th centuries. Uyya-vanta-tēvar is the first great scholar of this neo-Śaiva school. The greatest was Meykaṇṭa-tēvar (d. 1223 A. D.), the author of the *Civa-kināna-pōtam* (*Śiva-jñāna-bōdha*), an exposition of the Śaiva-siddhānta system which has become a scripture of the school. He was a non-Brahman, and his Brahman disciple Aruḷ-nānti Śivāchārya composed the *Civa-kināna-cittiyar* (*Śiva-jñāna-siddhi*), which is a logical establishment and justification, in Tamil, of the Śaiva position. Aruḷ-nānti's disciple, of the Vēḷāzha (Vēḷāḷa) or farmer caste, Marai-Kināna-Campantar and his disciples, in their succession, carried on this philosophical tradition for some centuries.

Along with the philosophical writers came a new school of devotee-poets. We have now a new group of the 18 Siddhas, and in their line was one great saint of Saivism in the 18th century, viz. Tāyumān'avar (see below).

Secular literature as in the old style was much studied also, and we have a series of commentators on the old *Sangam* texts in the 11th-14th centuries, like Ilampuranar, Perachiriyar, Chēn'avaraiyar, Nachchin'arkkin'iyar, Atiyar-kunallar, and finally Parimezhalakar who commented upon the *Tolkāppiyam*, "the Ten Idyls", the various books in "the Ten Tens", and some of the Five Long Narrative Poems and other works. They have preserved a great many things in the literary world of Ancient and Old Tamil, and the debt of later scholars to them in the study of Old Tamil is inestimable.

About 1100, Chayam (Jaya) Koṇṭar wrote a long war-poem called the *Kaliṅgattu-parani* in the style of the older *Sangam* poets, and this is one of the great poems of the late phase of Old Tamil.

(3) Middle Tamil (Itai-t-tamiḻ) : 1350-1800 A. D.

The first half of the fourteenth century appears to have ushered in a new period in the history of the Tamil people and of the Tamil language, and consequently in its literature. The language was slowly altering, the voicing of its prior stops started, and the conjugation of the verb took new developments. The decay of the Chola empire towards the end of the Old Tamil period brought in a number of small states,

and this was conducive to literature by little patrons in the person of the ruling princes of these states. But political and cultural life was at a low ebb, and the Muhammadans from North India, at one time so far away, established themselves in the Deccan, and harassed the Tamil-land, coming down in 1298 as far south as Rāmēśvaram. In 1336, the Vijayanagara empire, founded first in the Telugu and Kannada countries, formed a bulwark for Tamil-land also. It would be convenient to take 1350 A. D. as the starting point for Middle Tamil.

The Temples and Monasteries, endowed by princes and rich men, and resorted to by devotees and scholars as well as students, became the great centres of Tamil learning during the period and right down the modern age. During the Middle Tamil period, there was nothing original or striking in the literature. Only in the 18th century, Christian and Muslim writers came into the field. There were poets and philosophers *ad infinitum* who repeated the old Puranic—romantic and devotional—themes, with hardly any new light or theme or outlook. The Vijayanagara emperors were directly connected with Telugu and Kannada, and Tamil did not receive full support from them as it was away from the capital and the court.

Among the more important poets of Middle Tamil were Kālamēgam of Kumbhakōṇam, at first a Vaishṇava Brahman who later adopted Saivism, and wrote devotional poems; Ati-madhura-kavi, who was a rival of Kālamēgam; and the two brothers, one a lame man, the other blind, known as the Iraṭṭaiyar or 'the Twins'. These poets flourished between 1450-1600 A. D. They wrote *vers d'occasion*, but nothing great or outstanding. A number of Tamil princes also distinguished themselves as poets. Other poets of the Middle Tamil period who should be named are Villiputturar and Aruṇagiri-nātha, who were contemporaries (fifteenth century), of whom the former, a Vaishṇava, made a rendering of the *Mahābhārata* story in Tamil, and the latter, a Śaiva, wrote a very widely popular series of devotional hymns in honour of Skanda or Kumāra; Parañjōti, who wrote the Sivite *Purāṇa* work, the *Vedāranya-purāṇam*, which is a very popular poem, and the *Tiru-vilaiyādal*, in 4 cantos 68 sections, describing the *liḷās* or legends of Śiva; Poyya-mozhi-pulavar; and Vira-Mudaliyar, the blind poet (first half of 16th century), who went to Yal-paṇam or Jaffna, the chief city of the Tamils in

Ceylon, and who has a number of long poems, including some panegyrics, to his credit.

The Śaiva monasteries at Tiruvaḍudurai, at Tiruvaṇṇamalai and at Dharmapuram, as well as the Vira-Śaiva monastery at Tirumaṅgaḷam, produced a succession of eminent philosophical writers, who need not be discussed. The most famous poet and scholar of Saivism, who did not belong to any monastery, was Tāyumān'avar (first half of the 18th century, c. 1742), from Vēdāranyam in Tanjore district. His hymns and poems to God in the form of Śiva have the sincerity and simplicity of the poetry of the earlier Nāyan'mārs, and Tāyumān'avar is honoured and his poems are sung with fervour everywhere in the Tamil country. An elder contemporary of Tāyumān'avar was Rājappa Kavirāyar, whose *Purāṇa* and other religious works, 10 in number, make him one of the great poets of recent centuries. There were scores of other poets during the 14th-18th centuries, writing on *Purāṇa*, on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* themes, and on devotion to Śiva, Kumāra or Viṣṇu ; and it is needless to enumerate them.

The Muslim poets of Tamil-land appear to have come into prominence from the 18th century. They were mostly converts from Hinduism to Islam, and in their cultural background they were essentially Hindu. They introduced Muhammadan themes—stories, legends and religious ideologies into Tamil. Many of them knew Old Tamil and Sanskrit. Sakkari Pulavar composed on the Hajj pilgrimage to Medina and on the life of Muhammad, and Muhammad Ibrāhīm alias Vaṇṇakkalañji Pulavar wrote the *Muhaidin-Purāṇam* on the Islamic faith. There has been so far no great or original writer from among the Tamil Muslims. Mastān Sāhib of Trichinopoly (Tiruchirapalli), a modern poet, is read in his lyrics by Hindus and Muslims alike.

From the third quarter of the 16th century, European Christian Missionaries began to study and preach in Tamil, and they produced a literature of Christian inspiration in the language. Through their initiative, their first Tamil book was printed in Tamil characters from Cochin in 1579. Other books followed, in the 17th-18th centuries.

Jesuit Missionaries from Goa were first in the field, and the Italian Roberto di Nobili, early in the 17th century,

founded a mission in Madura. He adopted the dress and ways of a Brahman, and assumed the name of Tattva-bōdha-svāmī, and he was by his personal life able to draw, it is said, 100,000 persons to the Christian fold.

Then came the German Bartholomew Ziegenbalg (1663-1719), who under the auspices of the Danish East India Company founded a mission at Tranquebar in 1706. He wrote a Tamil Grammar, and translated portions of the Bible into Tamil.

Constantinus Beschi (1680-1746), from Castiglione in Mantua, Italy, came to Goa in 1708. He started his missionary work in the South Tamil country, where he became quite a prominent figure in religion, literature and politics up to his death in 1746. Like di Nobili, he adopted the ways of the Brahmans, and took up the name Virāma-munivar, and became a master of Tamil. Emulating another Jesuit missionary at Goa, the Englishman Father Stevens (Estevaõ) who wrote in Marathi a Christian *Purāṇa*, Beschi composed a similar great work in Tamil, in 1724, in the classical style, the *Tembavani* or "the Unfading Garland", giving in a very mellifluous Tamil style the Old and New Testament stories. Tamil scholars give it a very high place, even ranking it with a *Sangam* work like the *Cīvaka-cintāmaṇi*. It was in MS. for 130 years, and was published only in 1853. He wrote a Tamil Catechism, and a satirical tale in prose, *Avivēka-pūrṇa-guru-kathai*, besides grammars in Latin of Old as well as Modern Tamil; and in 1731 he wrote a comprehensive work on Tamil grammar and poetics, the *Tonnūl-vilakkam*. He has to his credit also few other poetical and religious works in Tamil.

From the middle of the 18th century, other European missionary students of Tamil came in, English and German, and of them, G. U. Pope, by his translations of the *Kur'al*, the *Nālaḍiyar* and the *Tiru-vācakam*, and his grammatical and other writings, made Tamil literature better known to the outside world.

(4) New or Modern Tamil : from 1800 A. D.

The establishment of English rule, as in other parts of India like Bengal and Bombay, brought in a quickening of the Tamil intellect and a growing expansion of their mental

horizon But not much advance towards a modernization of Tamil literature was possible before the establishment of the University of Madras in 1857. The earlier Tamil writers of the 19th century were great scholars of the older literature, and their influence has been very effective in maintaining the old linguistic and literary atmosphere until very recently. The need for school-books brought in the development of an expressive prose during the second half of the 19th century, as elsewhere in India.

The 19th century poets who continued the old tradition were Oppallamaṇi Pulavar (d. 1849), whose chief claim to fame is his *Śiva-rahasiyam*, on Śaiva philosophy and symbolism; Ananta Bhārati Ayyaṅgar, 1786-1848, famed for his impromptu verses; and Śaravaṇa Perumāḷ Ayyar and T. Mīnākshi-Sundaram Piḷḷai, who edited a number of classical texts of Tamil. Rāmaliṅga Svāmigaḷ (1823-1874), Arumuka Navalar (1822-1876), Dēvarāja Piḷḷai (c. 1850), Ānanda Kuttar, and Sōmasundara Nāyakar (1846-1901), besides H. A. Kṛishṇa Piḷḷai (1827-1900) who became a Christian and made a very beautiful translation or adaptation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Tamil and wrote touching devotional poetry of Christian inspiration—these belong to the second generation of Tamil poets and writers of the 19th century.

A new movement in literature was started by a group of writers who were much influenced by English. The first original novels and original dramas were by Vēdanāyakam Piḷḷai (1824-1889), who was a Christian, viz. the *Pratāpa-Mudaliyar-caritram*, a romance, and *Suguṇa-sundarī-caritram*, a short novel; by Professor P. Sundaram Piḷḷai (1855-1897), a great critic of Tamil literature, whose *Manōnmaniyam* is a drama, based on an English novel by Lord Lytton, written in the Shaksperian model. Other novels of note were the fine story of a village Brahman family, *Kamalambaḷ*, by Rājam Ayyar, who was a promising writer devoted to Hindu philosophy; and the *Mōhanāṅgi* (based on Kingsley's *Hypatia*) by Śaravaṇa Piḷḷai of Jaffna, who also died early. These were followed by the present-day school of living novelists and story-writers like C. R. Śrīnivāsa Aiyāṅgar (historical romances), A. Mādhavayya (social novels e. g. the *Padmāvatī* and the *Vijaya-mārttaṇḍam*), V. G. Sūryanārayaṇa Śāstriyar, and some others.

Modern fiction does not seem to have been so productive in Tamil. But the drama has a good output, and here Shakspeare influenced Modern Tamil writers a great deal. It is needless to mention the scores of fairly good works in Modern Tamil in this line, but it would appear that no outstanding writer has come forward. There were two pure Tamil or indigenous types of the drama, the *Vañci* and the *Pullu*, and Rājappa Kavirāyar's compositions in this style (which is like the *Yātrā* of Bengal, now unfortunately dying out in the Tamil country) are famous.

The poets of the present day in Tamil till recently were under the spell of the classical (Old and Middle Tamil) styles, and it is only now they are gradually evolving a new outlook and a new means of expression. In the Tamil country, until recently, we had scholars who lived and thought in the atmosphere of Old and Middle Tamil, and the average educated person did not care much for poetry or literature, much less in his own language; and the masses were content with their *Purāṇas* and their devotional hymns, and light verses. Among the better known poets in the old style are A. K. Amirtam Piḷḷai (1845-1899), M. Tyalpakam Piḷḷai (1852-1916), A. Shanmukham Piḷḷai (1869-1914), Sabhāpati Navalar of Jaffna (d. 1903), Arumuga-Nāyanār Piḷḷai (d. 1925), A. Z. Varappa Piḷḷai (a devotional writer); and T. Lakshmaṇa Piḷḷai (born 1864), called by some 'the Tagore of Tamil-land', author of devotional poems and dramas; besides V. P. Subrahmaṇya Mudaliyar.

The representative poet and writer of the present day is now, as universally acknowledged among Tamilians, the late Subrahmaṇya Bhāratī (1882-1946), poet, patriot and philosopher, whose national songs and other lyrics are immensely popular as they are modern in both language and spirit. Bhāratī passed a good many years in North India, and he may be said to have inaugurated a really new movement in Tamil poetry, and his influence appears to be growing with the passage of time.

Subrahmaṇya Bhāratī had spent the early part of his life in North India, being partially educated there—Allahabad, Banaras and Calcutta, and he was very much influenced by the life and politics of the North, particularly by the nationalistic movement which began in Bengal from the middle of

the first decade of this century. His patriotic fervour enabled him to give to the Tamil people a series of very powerful songs of nationalism; and his nationalism also embraced the whole of India—the conception of *Bhārata-mātā* or ‘Mother India’ as it was established by Bengal patriots at the beginning of this century, and eagerly accepted by the rest of India as a symbol of India’s cultural and political unity. He was through his poetry one of the greatest forces for the emotional integration of the Tamil-land with the rest of India. Bhārati’s published works in poetry falls into two great groups—(i) his Songs, which may be further classified as Patriotic Songs, Devotional Songs and Miscellaneous Songs, which number in all about 300, and (ii) the Longer Poems or Verse Sequences, which include three great works, (a) the *Kaṇṇan’-Pāṭṭu* or 23 mystic and devotional songs relating to Krishna, treating the devotional approach in a totally new way; (b) *Pañcālī-Śapatam* or “the Oath of Panchālī i. e. Draupadī”, the heroine of the *Mahābhārata*, in 2 parts (1912-24); and (c) *Kuyil-pāṭṭu*, a narrative poem in 9 parts, consisting of 750 lines, which is a sort of allegory of love and life, and of the Divine.

Bhārati is also one of the creators of Modern Tamil prose. He was a journalist for some time, being connected with the well-known Tamil paper the *Svadēśa-mitran*. He has a number of short stories, and he left an unfinished novel. He translated the *Gītā* into Tamil, and also some stories from Leo Tolstoy and Rabindranath Tagore. As can be expected, having taken his inspiration for nationalism in Bengal, and having made *Vandē Mātaram* the *mantra* or basic creed of his patriotism, he was influenced by Bankim Chandra Chatterji; and Tagore’s influence naturally he could not escape. He wrote critical, historical and political articles. He has been called a ‘Second Agastya’ for Tamil language and literature.

Bhārati is popular both for his variety and for his depth of feeling, and besides there is the beauty of his language. It was he who has been able to draw the Tamilians back to the great literary heritage in their language, and to the poetry and truth in Indian life: and his services have been gratefully acknowledged by the Tamil people. His name will come first to the lips of Tamilians when asked to mention their most popular modern poet.

Contemporaneous with Bhāratī are two other great poets—Kavimaṇi Dēśika Vināyakam Piḷḷai, and Namakkal Rāmaliṅgam Piḷḷai. The former is the more brilliant genius ; but the latter is most popular, and he has been chosen as ‘the Poet Laureate of Tamil’. Rāmaliṅgam Piḷḷai’s verses in *Sankali* (“the Sound of the Conch-shell Trumpet”) and his verse-novel *Avan’um Avalum* (“He and She”) are very popular works. He is a follower of Mahātma Gāndhī. Kavimaṇi Dēśika Vināyakam Piḷḷai’s lyrics and narrative poems as well as satires are also very popular. He is averse to politics, but is a keen social thinker. His *Malarum Mālaiyum* (“Flowers and Wreaths”) is a famous work in Tamil.

The Bhāratī tradition is continued by Bhāratī-dāsan, a poet of revolt and of individualism, who, starting with a note of theistic devotion, ultimately declared himself an atheist ; and his attitude is socialistic. Kamba-dāsan is another modern poet—a poet of life and progress. Kothamaṅgalam Śubbu is the champion of the peasant ; and while Swāmī Suddhānanda Bhāratī and M. Periya Swāmī are poets of the old School (the former’s *Bhārata-śakti* is a very noteworthy creation), J. Taṅgavelu (Surabhi) has sought to bring in innovations in new subjects and techniques.

The novel and the short story in Tamil are represented at the present day by the following writers : for the novel, we have to mention Arni Kuppaswāmī Mudaliyar, J. R. Raṅgarāju, and Vaduvūr Duraiswāmī Ayyaṅgār. S. Vēṅkaṭaramani took up the question of the peasants in his first work *Murugam*. A number of ladies have come forward as psychological novelists : Sm. Kodā Nāyak (author of 70 works, mostly social novels with psychological studies), Sm. Anuttamā (*Ore ūru vārtai*—“One World Only”, her great creation), and “Lakshmī” and “Guhapripyā”. T. L. Natēśan (“Śaṅkara-rāman”) first took up the life of the lower strata in society. A. V. V. is a new realist in literature. Two young writers of promise, both of them cut off in their early life, were S. Vridhāchalam (*Pudumai Pittan*) and K. P. Rājagōpālan. R. Krishṇamūrti (pen-name “Kalki”) is now perhaps the most popular short-story writer : he is now publishing the journal ‘Kalki’, one of the most important in Tamil. “Kalki” is also a great novelist, having written a number of historical as well as social novels.

In the development of prose fiction in Tamil, translations from Bengali (Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore and Śarat Chandra Chatterji—T. N. Kumāraswāmī's translations from Rabindranath and Śarat Chandra are to be mentioned) have played their part. In the drama also the Bengali dramas of Dvijēndralāl Rāy in their Tamil versions are popular, and they have helped in the development of the modern Tamil drama. Of the modern dramatists of Tamil, mention must be made of P. Sambandha Mudaliyar, who has translated some of the works of Shakspeare, and has over 100 original dramas to his credit. He was also a reformer of the Tamil stage. But these dramas, as well as those by Mādhavayya, F. G. Natēśa Ayyar and S. K. Pārthasārathi, are not distinguished in any special way. The drama does not seem to be a strong point in Modern Tamil literature, and an outstanding dramatist like Girīś Chandra Ghosh in Bengali is still awaited.

In considering the question of the Tamil language and literature at the present day, mention must be made of the "Pure Tamil" Movement which has now become prominent among certain sections of the Tamil writers. There has always been among Tamilians a strong feeling for their language. The ancient-poet Tiru-mūlar in praising Śiva declared—"Thou hast created the Aryan language (Sanskrit); Thou hast created also Tamil". The Vaishṇavas have paid to the songs of the Āzhvārs the same honour as to the Sanskrit Vedas. The two languages however were all along cultivated side by side for the last 2000 years, without any antipathy to Sanskrit as a language from outside. But in recent years, there has manifested a strong local pride in and emotion for Tamil as against both Hindi and Sanskrit as alien languages from the North. This has two aspects—positive and negative. The study of Old Tamil literature and the consequent rediscovery of its great qualities, which had started through the editing of the old texts with commentaries by Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Svāminātha Aiyar and others, presents the positive side. The *Tamiḻ Valarci Kaḻagam* (The Tamil Academy), founded after Independence in 1947, is giving a great impetus to Tamil literature, including the preparation and publication of a comprehensive encyclopaedia in Tamil, and in offering prizes for works in Tamil. The feeling of a narrow Tamil or Dravidian

patriotism which considered itself suppressed by the general acceptance of Sanskrit or so-called 'Aryan' supremacy during the last few centuries, now finds an exultant liberation through the rediscovery of Old Tamil literature, and also through the admission (by scholars of history and culture) of the existence of an important Dravidian basis and substratum in Indian life and religion and civilization in general. This has led to a spirit of an aggressive 'hitting back'—a deliberate movement to belittle the Aryan contribution. Jealousy for Brahman predominance has led to a new kind of non-Brahman *versus* Brahman conflict, which on the linguistic side manifests a strong desire to have a pure Tamil diction, in which deliberate avoidance of Sanskrit words (even to the extent of translating Sanskrit personal names into Pure Tamil) is a noteworthy feature. Certain political creeds and attitudes, certain antagonisms to established Hindu ideas and beliefs and practices as smacking of a Brahman supremacy or an Aryan atmosphere, and even open and covert attempts to restrict the study of Sanskrit, are noticeable among an extreme section of all-exclusive Tamil patriots; and political parties with fantastic ideas of Tamil superiority have come to play their part. The negative side, as indicated above, has been very vocal and spectacularly active. But it is hoped that it will gradually subside, and the innate good sense and practical sagacity of the people will find a balance, and restore the harmony which is being disturbed, to the unquestioned detriment of the Tamil intellect and Tamil culture.

S. Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai, Professor of Tamil in Madras University, and V. Kalyāṇa-sundaram Mudaliyar were Tamil prose writers of note who have both passed away. Among the greatest writers of Tamil at the present day is Chakravartī Rājagōpālāchāriyar, the first Indian Governor of Bengal and India's first Governor-General, who is an important figure not only in politics but in many other domains of Indian life. His short stories, essays, and his great book on the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* are famous in Tamil. Other famous essayists of the present day are M. Varadarājan and K. V. Jagannāthan. The work in Tamil prose that is being done by the important journals like *Kalki*, *Ānanda-viḷaṭan*, *Kalai-magaḷ*, *Vidhuthalai*, *Kalai-kathir* etc.* is also to be mentioned.

It would appear that so far as Tamil is concerned, its earlier literature is more significant and valuable than its later literature. The *Sangam* poems of *pur'am* and *akam*, and the devotional hymns of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints have been the greatest contributions of the Tamils to the literature of India and of the World. Further, a Tamil literature is as much representative of the Indian spirit as is Sanskrit; only the peculiar *cachet* and atmosphere of the South Dravidian life and culture, as found in the *Sangam* literature, is its very own. Tamilians have always had a great love and respect for their language, which they have studied and preserved as a great heritage; and it can only be expected that with a little re-orientation of their interest in their mother-tongue and its great literary output (which has started again and is well on its way), the Tamils, one of the most intelligent and advanced peoples of India, will be able to make even greater contribution to the sum-total of Modern Indian Literature through their language than they have done before.

MALAYALAM LITERATURE

The area where the Old Tamil language was current was divided into three main tracts—*Coṣa* (Chola), *Pāṇṭi* (Pāṇḍya) and *Cēra* (Kēraḷa). The *Cēra* or Kerala country is separated from the other two tracts, which adjoin the Bay of Bengal, by the Western Ghats, and the Kerala land is washed by the Arabian Sea. Except in the extreme South, this tract was difficult of access by people from the East because of dense hill forests, and it was rather isolated. This Kerala area includes the Old Cochin and Travancore States, and some areas to the North ; and the Dravidian language spoken there has developed into Malayālam (which means “the Language of the Hills, *mala*, *malai*, and of the Dales, *alam*”). In the *Sangam* literature, *Cēra* is just a part of *Tamiṣakam*, which is the inclusive ancient name for the entire Tamil-speaking area (in Ancient Tamil of the 1st Century A. D., the name was **Damiṣakam*, which the Greeks had rendered as *Damirike*). The Old Tamil spoken in isolated *Cēra* or Kēraḷa developed some local characteristics, which are already noticeable in inscriptions found in this area from the 9th century (viz., the Cochin Plates of Bhāskara-ravi-varman). These characteristics were not much noted, and Kerala and the rest of the ancient Tamil-land had the same literary tradition upto the first quarter or middle of the 14th century. We may say that when we have Middle Tamil, we have Middle Malayalam also : only Old Malayalam has to be regarded as identical with or very close to Old Tamil : and we have no authentic specimens of Old Malayalam, only a few problematical works or fragments, prior to 1350 A. D.

The history of the Malayalam language and literature falls thus into two periods :

- (1) Early or Middle Malayalam, from 1350 to 1800 ; and
- (2) Modern Malayalam, from after 1800.

In studying the literature of Malayalam, we have to note one thing—it is the tremendous influence of Sanskrit upon the language and its literature. The Nampūtiri (Nambudri) Brahmans had succeeded, by their exclusive devotion to Sanskrit from very early times, in making the ‘Language of the Gods’

almost universally adopted in Kerala, so that most writers of Malayalam were bilingual. The fact has to be remembered that Śaṅkarāchārya, the great Advaita Vedantist Philosopher and Commentator to the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and *Brahma-sūtras* (c. 800 A. D.), and one of the supreme organizers of Hindu (Brahmanical) ideology and religion whose great contribution has endured to the present age, was a Brahman from Kerala ; and in Kerala there has been an unbroken succession of Sanskrit writers ever since, not only among the Brahmans but among all other classes also. The ruling princes had all a great ambition—to compose verses and other works in Sanskrit. This led to the matter-of-fact and almost unavoidable introduction into Malayalam of Sanskrit vocables, Malayalam in this matter presenting quite a contrast to Tamil. Any Sanskrit word is a prospective Malayalam word. Sometimes, in poetry and prose both, Malayalam lines are nothing but a continuous string of Sanskrit words and phrases. The ‘high style’ in the Kannada and Telugu languages was very much in the same strain. A style of composition grew up in Malayalam which was known as *Maṇi-pravāḷam* or “Ruby-and-Coral Style” which consisted of using Sanskrit words to more than saturation. In the 15th century the grammatical and rhetorical work known as *Lilā-tilakam* gave a good study of *Maṇi-pravāḷa* literature showing the presence of a long tradition for it.

Side by side with this Sanskrit influence on Malayalam, there was also, in the earlier stages of the language and its literature, a strong Tamil influence which showed itself in a distinct style of Malayalam. In this, pure Malayalam words are Tamilized, and Tamil grammatical forms are introduced. In South Kerala, where Tamil and Malayalam meet or overlap, this style is very much in evidence. One of the oldest books in Malayalam, the *Rāma-caritam* (some Scholars considered it to be the oldest work in the language), shows this Tamil style.

We have a third kind of Malayalam from the oldest times, the Pure Malayalam (or *Pacca Malayāḷam*, as it has been called). This is the well of Malayalam undefiled, without the artificiality of too much Tamil, and the folk or popular literature—songs of various kinds and ballads (particularly of North Kerala) as well as Christian and Muslim compositions—are found in this *Pacca-Malayāḷam*. As representing a genuine native tradition in Malayalam literature, embodying what may be called “the Matter of Kerala”,

these old songs and ballads have a special importance in the language. Their collection and study has started (e.g. *Paṇaya-Pāṭṭukaḷ* or "Old Songs", collected by C. P. Govindapillā, 1918). This is genuine Malayalam, the roots of which go back to the Cēra speech or dialect of the Sangam age. (See in this connexion the valuable work by Dr. K. M. George, *Rāma-caritam and the Study of Early Malayalam : A Study in Dravidian Linguistics* : Kottayam, Kerala, 1956.)

(1) Early (or Middle) Malayalam : 1350 to 1800 A. D.

Among its *Cen-tamiṣ* or Old Tamil, or basic Pure Dravidian inheritance, Malayalam has the *pāṭṭu* or 'songs' of different kinds (cf. the Old Tamil *pāṭṭu*, and the Old Telugu *pāṭu*)—lullabys, harvest-songs, songs of love, songs about the Hindu Gods and heroes, songs to be sung in solo, songs to be sung in chorus, as well as long narrative ballads of warfare. Some of these narrative war-ballads are very popular, e.g. the *Taccoli-pāṭṭus*, narrating the exploits of the valiant Nāyar hero Mēppayil Kuñṇi Otēnan. These *pāṭṭus*, at least in their subject-matter, may be very old. An indigenous drama had also developed, in which the actors spoke and danced in masks and in an elaborate make-up ; this dance-drama became later (17th century) the celebrated *Kathākali* of Malabar, with its attendant literature of written plays which came into special prominence in the 18th century ; but they show considerable Sanskrit influence.

The *Rāma-caritam*, attributed to one of the Travancore kings, which goes back probably to about 1300 A. D., is looked upon as the oldest Malayalam text. This is followed by another work, the *Uṇṇunīli-Sandēśam* which is a *Sandēśa-kāvya* after the manner of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* in Sanskrit in which a princess named Uṇṇunīli sends a message to her love, a prince. This is a very fine piece of verse composition in a Malayalam which is already formed. The *Uṇṇunīli-Sandēśam* is in the Sanskritized style, as the *Rāma-caritam* is in the Tamil tradition, but its time and authorship have not been settled.

The *Uṇṇicairutēvī-caritam*, the *Uṇṇiyāṭi-caritam*, and *Uṇṇiyacci-caritam* are three old *campūs* in the *Maṇi-pravāḷam* Style, with themes of the same nature, viz. the love of Indra the King of the Gods for a mortal maiden (for the 1st one, which goes back to about 1300

A. D.), and the love between Gandharvas (Yakshas) and earthly women (as in the other two poems, which are slightly later in date).

A great reform in Malayalam which was to come later was the adoption of the full alphabet of Sanskrit (*Grantha* alphabet, as it is called in the Tamil country) in place of the earlier incomplete script which was current before. This appears to have taken place in the 17th century.

The first known author of Malayalam is Cheruśśēri Nampūtiri (early 15th century), one of the first Brahmans to turn his attention to his mother-tongue. His *Kṛṣṇa-ppāṭṭu* or *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* is the first artistic work in the language. Cheruśśēri, when he chose, could write pure Malayalam. His work is written in a simple style, and so it can be easily followed even by the uneducated.

After Cheruśśēri, we have the poet Punam, who wrote a long *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*, c. 1550 A. D. A new genre, that of the *campū*, a composition in mixed prose and verse with a highly Sanskritized vocabulary, had already come into Malayalam in the 14th century, being introduced from Sanskrit, in which Malayali writers had been essaying the *campū*. Quite an extensive *campū* literature developed in the language, dealing with themes from the Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas*. Their name is legion, and *campū* compositions on classical themes in the old style have come down to our day. Mahiṣa-maṅgaḷa and Nīlakaṇṭha are among the best *campū* writers in Malayalam.

A work of the 15th century which deserves special mention is the *Candrōtsavam*, using Sanskrit metres, by an unknown writer, narrating the happenings in a village festival. It gives a fresh and vivid picture of village-life in Northern Kerala. The work is not a real *campū*, although it is in the *campū* style.

The Chākyārs, a section of Brahmans, next to the Nampūtiris, took to telling *Purāṇa* stories in an artistic way by way of religious discourse. These stories form part of an unwritten prose literature in Malayalam which has come down from early times. The Chākyārs quote comic or humorous verses attributed to one Tolan, supposed to be the oldest Malayalam poet, he having been, according to tradition, the court-poet of a king Kulaśēkharan.

In the 17th century, we have the first great poet of Malayalam—the Nāyar Tuñchattu Rāmānuja Ezhuttachchan. He

gave to the language its stability by rendering the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Malayalam. Ezhuttachchan was a very deeply religious man, as we can see from the strain of devotion in all his works. •It was at his instance that the Sanskrit alphabet in a modified *Grantha* form was adopted for Malayalam. He had a number of other works on current Hinduism. The style of verse composition on *Purāṇa* themes introduced by Ezhuttachchan is known as the *Kiḷippāṭṭu* or “Parrot-song”, as the introductory invocation was to the sacred parrot of Goddess Sarasvatī. A large number of *Kiḷippāṭṭus* were composed in Malayalam after the introduction of the style by Ezhuttachchan.

In the 18th century, a new literary type came into prominence in Malayalam—the *Tuḷḷal* or “Dance Drama” with narration and action. As usual, they take their themes from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Tuḷḷal* drama arose out of, or in emulation of the oral narration of *Purāṇa* stories by the *Chākyārs*. This drama is in verse. Kalakkattu Kuñchan Nampiyār (second half of the 18th century) ‘lifted this form of ballad-songs into a literary art’. He composed over 70 of these *Tuḷḷals*, which are generally of a 1000 lines each. Kuñchan Nampiyār was a great poet, and he was a critic of men and manners and of society as well ; so that, without doing violence to the serious *Purāṇa* subject, he could bring in satirical criticisms on communal or individual idiosyncracies. He was elaborate and rather verbose, but he is regarded as the most popular among the earlier poets of Malayalam.

(2) Modern Malayalam : after 1800 A. D.

The state of Kerala is an extreme corner of India, cut off from the rest of the country, and it is open to foreign influences mainly by the sea. Although there is a strong Muslim element in Malabar, the *Mappiḷas* or Moplas (Malayalam-speaking Muslims), and although the Malayalam-speaking Laccadivians are all Muslim, there has never been any great Muslim influence in Kerala. On the other hand, from 1497 when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut (Kozhikkōṭu), the land has been exposed to Christian and European influences. Jews, and Christians from Syria from the 1st century A. D. had settled in Kerala. One of the earliest epigraphic documents of the Kerala country dating from the 9th century

is to be found in the copper-plate grant of a Kerala king Pārkkara-Iravi-vaṇinan (Bhāskara Ravi-varman), allowing some special privileges to Mar Yosappu (Joseph) settled among his people in Kerala. The Jews, who succeeded in making some converts ('the Black Jews' of Malabar), and the Syrian Christians belonging to the Orthodox Faith and keeping up a study of Old Syriac as the language of their liturgy, never became aggressive culturally, and were treated with great consideration by the rulers and the people of Kerala. Aggressive and persistent Christian (particularly Roman Catholic) propaganda and proselytization commenced from the beginning of the 16th century, after the Portuguese had established themselves at Goa in 1510 ; and the missionary efforts of preachers like St. Francis Xavier started. Intensive Christian missionary work for some centuries—Roman Catholic, and later on Protestant—has succeeded in making large numbers of Hindus, particularly from among the lowest classes, converts to Christianity. But in spite of their religion coming from abroad, the pattern of life for these Christian converts still remains Hindu, and Malayali. As the last home of mediaeval Hindu orthodoxy, Kerala had developed in excess certain social usages (based on a fancied sanctity of the Brahman) of a most unmeaning and a most tyrannical type, like untouchability and unapproachability ; and Christianity offered a natural and easy release to the masses from this, so that we have some 30% of the people of Kerala now declaring themselves Christian in their religious affiliation.

The English came to be established in Kerala during the last decade of the 18th century, but English influences were slow in becoming effective ; and they came by way of Madras University and Bombay University.

From the early 18th century, the Christian contribution to Malayalam literature started. The oldest printed book in Malayalam came out in 1713, the *Symbolum Apostolicum in Lingua Malabarica* ; and other books came to be printed from 1733 onwards. All this began a modern age for Malayalam literature, and for a new approach to things.

Two centres of Malayalam literary endeavour started during the second half of the 19th century—to modernize the literature. One of them was in the North, at Cranganore (Koṭuṅgallūr), in Cochin State. The poet Veṇmaṇi Nampūtiri (early 19th century) and his son were the leaders in this new literary

movement. We have quite a large number of poets actuated by a new spirit who gathered round this group—the poets Naṭuvan, father and son ; Kātuḷḷil Achyuta Mēnōn ; Champattil Chāttukkuṭṭi Mannāṭiyār ; Tōṭṭakkāṭṭu Ikkāvu Amma (a poetess) ; and others. Ikkāvu Amma wrote a drama, *Subhadrārjunam*, besides poems.

The second centre was at Trivandrum under Mahārāja Kērala-varmā Valiya Kōyil Tampurān of Travancore (1845-1917), an eminent poet in both Sanskrit and Malayalam, who led the movement in the South. Professor A. R. Rāja-rāja Varmā (1862-1918) and Pantālam Kērala-varmā, K. C. Kēśava Piḷḷa (1868-1913), Koṭṭārattil Śaṅkuṇṇi (1855-1937), and Uḷḷūr S. Paramēśvara Aiyar (1877-1949) are other well-known writers belonging to this group.

It would be seen that Tamilians settled in the Malayalam country took their share in the development of modern Malayalam literature.

The younger Veṇmaṇi of Cranganore was a very highly gifted poet. A step-brother of his, Kuñṇikkuṭṭan Tampurān, was also eminent in modern Malayalam. The leader of the Southern School, Kērala-varmā Valiya Kōyil Tampurān, was the follower of an artificial style, too much imitative of Sanskrit. His translation of the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa (1881) was not much of a success. His nephew, Rājarāja Varmā—poet and critic—followed a simpler style. Kērala-varmā Valiya Kōyil Tampurān was also a prose-writer of distinction, and he did great service to Malayalam literature, particularly in prose, as President of the *Vernacular Text-Book Committee* of Travancore and as President of the *Bhāṣā-pōṣinī Sabhā*. His study of Akbar is a masterly essay in Malayalam. His example and patronage brought to the field a number of other writers and translators, *prosateurs* and poets, who enriched Malayalam remarkably. Kuñṇikkuṭṭan Tampurān, dramatist and poet, translated the whole of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* in original metres : this gave him the sobriquet of *Kērala-Vyāsan*. He has a large number of other works also ; and he translated Shakspeare's *Hamlet* into Malayalam with the help of a friend, as he did not know English sufficiently well. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has similarly been rendered by Vaḷḷattōḷ Nārāyaṇa Mēnōn (b. 1878), who became the most prominent poet and literary leader in Kerala during the last two generations. Koṭṭārattil

Śaṅkuṇṇi wrote an original drama, the *Kucēla-gōpālam*, besides translations of the *Vikramōrvaśī* of Kālidāsa, and the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti ; and he was a voluminous writer on historical and literary topics, as well as of general essays.

Kochchuṇṇi Tampurān was one of the best poets of the present age, who wrote also a number of dramas ; and his translation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is very popular.

The Essay in the European style came to Malayalam from English, and it was through the Essay on a variety of subjects published in the various journals that the note of modernism came to the language. The modern novel also arrived in Kerala. T. M. Appu Neṭuṇṇāṭi's *Kundalata* (1887) is the first original novel in Malayalam. A most popular novel, with true and convincing pictures of men and society, is the *Indulekhā* (1889) of O. Chantu Mēnōn (1846-1890). Chantu Mēnōn's grand-daughter Dēvakiyamma wrote a two-volume novel, the *Śakuntalā-dēvī*. C. V. Rāman Piḷḷa's *Mārttaṇḍa-varma* is a historical novel. Translations from the Bengali novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji which helped the Malayalam novel were made by Sāhitya-sakhī Mrs. Kalyāṇiyamma, wife of Tēlakkāṭṭu Kṛishṇa Mēnōn of Ernakulam (*Viśavṛkṣa*, *Kṛṣṇakānter Uil*, *Dēvī-Caudhurāṇi*). Among present-day novelists are Veṇṇayil Kuṇṇirāman Nāyanār, Appan Tampurān, V. K. Kuṇṇan Mēnōn, Ambāṭi Nārāyaṇa Potuvāḷ, and C. P. Achyuta Mēnōn, who have also established the present Malayalam prose-style.

Modern Malayalam 'epics', in the style of the artificial Sanskrit *Kāvya*s, are quite numerous, and dozens of them can be mentioned, but they are mostly exercises in verse rather than creative works of significance. The influence in simplifying the poetical diction of modern Malayalam came to some extent from Rabindranath Tagore's works. V. Uṇṇikkṛishṇan Nāyar has rendered some of Tagore's poems into Malayalam, besides writing original lyrics of great beauty. From 1925, Vaḷḷattōḷ, the *doyen* of Malayalam poets, began to be influenced by Rabindranāth, and he started the new movement for a simpler style and for pure Malayalam metres. He also gave greater stress to the *content* rather than the *form* of poetry. Vaḷḷattōḷ is a lover of the arts, and his attempts in reviving the dramatic and other arts of Kerala (through his society the *Kērala-Kālā-Maṇḍalam*) have given new life in this direction.

A modern poet who died in a boat-tragedy, Kumaran Āśān (1871-1924), tried to bring about social reform through his verse. Kuttripurattu Kēśavan Nāyar and Uḷḷūr S. Paramēśvara Aiyar are representative poets of the old school, as G. Śaṅkara Kurup, favourite writer of the younger generation, K. K. Rāja and Chaṅṅampuzha Kṛishṇa Piḷḷa, as well as N. Bālāmaṇiyamma, a young poetess of talent and a follower of Vallattōḷ, are poets of the modern school. Uḷḷūr Paramēśvara Aiyar was also a literary critic and historian of high order.

There are some Christian and Muslim writers of note in Malayalam, like Joseph Muṇṭaśśēri, formerly the Minister for Education in the Kerala State Government, and Vaikkom Mohammad Bashir. The old literary types like the *Kḷippāṭṭu* and the *Kathākali* are now treated in a modern way ; and the general tendency is to make Malayalam simple and normal, and not always tied to Sanskrit. Sardar K. M. Paṇikkar, well-known in Indian education and in Indian politics, in which he is a pan-Indian figure (he was India's amhassador to Egypt and China, and to France), is a very distinguished personality among Kerala poets and novelists.

The prospects for Kerala literature are now quite bright with the dawning of naturalness and simplicity in the language. Although its inevitable divorcement from Sanskrit will be regretted, it will not however mean complete isolation from Sanskrit and the rest of India. The Malayalis are clever and intelligent as well as enterprising, and already they have made their mark in pan-Indian affairs by giving to India a large number of prominent administrators, civil servants, educationists and culture-leaders. They are spreading in other parts of India, and in education, they are the most advanced people in India, showing the largest percentage of literate and educated people for the whole of India (40%, while the figure for the whole of India is only about 17%). They are actively participating in the general intellectual and cultural as well as economic development of India. The advancement of literature and culture in Kerala will have its natural effect on the rest of India.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON EARLY SINDHI LITERATURE

I. An Early Arabic Version of the Mahābhārata Story from Sindh

IN 1026 A.D. (417 Hijra), Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī bin Muḥammad al-Hablatī, keeper of the city library of Jurjān on the Caspian Sea, translated a work from the Arabic into Persian for the benefit of a *sipah-bad* or army-chief of the Dilemites. The Arabic work itself came from the Indians, being a work on Indian history translated from the 'Indian language' into Arabic by Abu Ṣāliḥ bin Ṣu'ayb bin Jāmi', whose date is not known, but who of course wrote before 1026 A. D. The Persian version by Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī bin Muḥammad was quoted or summarized in a later Persian work, of unknown date, known as the *Mujmil al-Tawārikh*. In 1844, M. Reinaud, Membre de l' Institut, Paris, published the Persian text of portions of the *Mujmil al-Tawārikh* with a French translation, in the *Journal Asiatique* (1844, pp. 114 ff.), in his "Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l' Inde antérieurement au XI-e siècle de l'ère chrétienne."

Dr. R. G. Harshe of the Deccan College of Poona presented an English translation of M. Reinaud's French version of the *Mujmil al-Tawārikh* before Indian and other readers of English, appreciating the importance of the work for studying the history of the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* for June, 1941 (Vol. II, Nos. 3-4, pp. 314-324).

The present Note owes its inception to Dr. Harshe's English article in the Poona journal primarily : and the original French article by Reinaud, and his edition of the Persian text, as indicated above, have also been consulted to check the English version.

The Arabic translation is of a work in the 'Indian language' which was known as "the instruction of Princes". The original work, in Sanskrit, or Prakrit, or some Prakritic speech, is unknown, and is presumady lost for ever. The 'Indian language' from which the Arabic version was made, one would ordinarily presume, was Sanskrit. But a study of the forms of the Indian names as

they can be reconstructed from the Arabic transcriptions (made in pre-11th century Kufic Arabic script, and then rendered in the Persian version of 1026 A. D. in contemporary Naskh, and further transcribed in the Nasta'līq of the *Mujmil al-Tawārikh* of a later date) would go to show that the original Indian language from which the Arabic version was made was not Sanskrit. It was unquestionably some late Prakrit speech : and this, on close examination, is found to be some Apabhraṃśa or New Indo-Aryan dialect current in the North-West of India—Western Panjab and Sindh, prior to or round about 1000 A.D. The basis of Abu Ṣāliḥ bin Ṣu'ayb's Arabic work would thus appear to be a composition in the vernacular speech of Sindh, which is not traceable now. Or it might have been that Abu Ṣāliḥ compiled his Arabic work from the stories narrated to him orally by some Indian collaborator or informant who spoke the language of early Sindh. But fortunately there is a mention of the "Original Book", from which the Arabic translation was made, in the translation itself, which would suggest the existence of some written literature at least, in the old language of Sindh prior to 1000 A.D. The book embodied stories about the ancient history of Sindh, about the *Mahābhārata* heroes, and about some later kings of India from the *Purāṇas*.

The Persian work (i. e. the *Mujmil al-Tawārikh*, as based ultimately on the Arabic translation of the original Indian book, consisted of three parts : Part (i) gave the early history of Sindh, prior to Sindh's connexion with the *Mahābhārata* heroes : Part (ii), the story of the *Mahābhārata* in a brief résumé : and (iii), stories about some later rulers and events in India after the termination of the Pāṇḍava period.

In the account of Sindh and its early history, there are some divergences from the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, and the source of Abu Ṣāliḥ evidently preserved some old traditions not known to or recorded by the compilers of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. Thus, according to the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, Jayad-ratha, the son of Vṛddha-kṣatra, was ruler of Sindh as well as of Sauvīra and Śibi in his own right, but the original of Abu Ṣāliḥ's Arabic makes it clear that the Kauravas interfered in the affairs of Sindh at the request of hostile or warring tribes living in the country, and Duryōdhana made his sister Duḥśalā the ruler of Sindh, with her husband Jayad-ratha as a sort of Prince-Consort. Moreover,

we are told that Sindh originally was inhabited by two tribes, one called Zṭ* (probably the Prakrit *Jaṭṭa* = Sanskrit *Jarta*, Modern Indo-Aryan *Jāt*, *Jatt*) who lived by the river, and the other called Myd (probably *Mēda*, a pre-Aryan people whose name survives in *Mēda-pāṭa* = *Mewād* State, and in that of the *Mēō* tribe of Rajputana, now mostly Muslims) who were pastoral, rearing sheep. They were rivals for overlordship in Sindh. On one occasion, the Zṭ people had the upper hand over the Myd, and the Zṭ leaders brought about a confederacy of the two rival groups, and they jointly asked Duryōdhana, the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the Bhārata king, to appoint some one to come to Sindh and rule over them. King Duryōdhana gave the rule of the country to his sister Duḥśalā. Her husband Jayad-ratha is mentioned as a powerful prince. Duḥśalā and Jayad-ratha occupied Sindh and its towns. They were wise rulers. Sindh was not inhabited by any highly civilized people at the time, so Duḥśalā wrote to her brother about this, and Duryōdhana brought together 30,000 Brāhmans from different parts of India and sent them with their daughters and relatives to his sister. "The original book recounts the long (or innumerable) discussions and interviews of all sorts on this head."

*In this paper, Perso-Arabic transcriptions of Indian names (without vowel-signs in the original documents) are given in a Roman transcription, as used in Arabic and Semitic linguistics, taking note only of the consonants (including *alif-hamza*). The following is the scheme of transliteration followed in the present paper :

alif = ' (inverted comma facing left) ; *bā* = b ; *tā* = t ; *thā* = θ ; *jīm* = j (or g') ; [*chīm* or *chē* = c] ; *khā* (xā) = x ; *dāl* = d ; *dhāl* = ḍ ; *rā* = r ; *zā* = z ; [*zhā* or *zhē* = ḡ] ; *sīn* = s ; *shīn* (šīn) = š ; *ṣād* = ṣ ; *qād* = q ; *ṭā* = ṭ ; *zā* = z ; '*ayn* = ' (an inverted comma facing right) ; *ḡayn* (*ghayn*) = ḡ ; *fā* = f ; *qāf* = q ; *kāf* = k ; [*gāf* = g] ; *lām* = l ; *mīm* = m ; *nūn* = n ; *wāw* = w ; *hā* = h ; *yā* = y ; *tā-hā* = t-h. The four Greek letters θ ḍ x ḡ are used in this transcription where necessary. (According to this system, the names of the Mogul emperors would be transliterated, following the Perso-arabic spelling without vowel-marks, as : *b'br* = Bābar, *hm'ywn* = Humāyūn, *j'l'-l-dyn mḥmd 'kbr* = Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar, *jh'ngyr* = Jahāngīr, *š'h-jh'n* = Shāh Jāhan, '*lm-gyr wrngzyb* = 'Alam-gīr Aurangzēb ; etc.)

Sindh entered into a state of prosperity not known before. The country became populous. Several cities were founded. The Zṛ and the Myd were given separate territories to live in. The Zṛ accepted as their own chief one Yuddha-ratha. Jayad-ratha ruled for 20 years and more, and then the power of the Bhāratas fell.

The story of Duḥśalā and her husband Jayad-ratha being sent to Sindh by Duryōdhana to rule over a disunited group of Sindh tribes, and their Brahmanizing the country, in this version of the *Mahābhārata* story, as it affected the province of Sindh, is quite interesting and important. It may indicate how Sindh was Aryanized during the *Mahābhārata* period (10th century B.C., according to F. E. Pargiter, H. C. Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett).

After this follows the *Mahābhārata* story. This is on the whole in agreement with the Sanskrit epic, but there is divergence in some of the episodes; and in the earlier part of the narration the story has been sought to be connected with Islamic (Arabic) and Iranian (Persian) *Purāṇas*. Thus, we are told that one of the descendants of the Jewish and Islamic Ham was a king of India (whose name in Arabic transcription is Mhrn, which has been sought to be identified with Mandhātār), and Mhrn had a son Fwr (supposed to be for Puru-kutsa), who was a contemporary of the Iranian Zuḥḥāk and Farīdūn. Ham had two other sons at the time of his death, Dhṛitarāshṭra who was blind, and Pāṇḍu. Pāṇḍu conquered a great part of India through the advice of Dhṛitarāshṭra who gave him half of his kingdom. Dhṛitarāshṭra had many sons, all born of one mother, Gāndhārī. The eldest of the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra was Duryōdhana, and Dhṛitarāshṭra had also one daughter, named Duḥśalā. The dynasty or family was known as the Bhārata family, but the sons of Pāṇḍu were known specially as the Pāṇḍavas.

The story of Pāṇḍu's adventure with the Rishi in the guise of a gazelle sporting with his wife, and the Rishi's curse on Pāṇḍu, are given. The names of Pāṇḍu's two wives are given, although in a garbled form, as Kuntī and Mādri. The miraculous birth of the five Pāṇḍavas is told at length, with some slight variations from the original *Mahābhārata*. The special excellences of each of the five Pāṇḍavas are noted—

Yudhishṭhira's in government, Bhīma's in strength, Arjuna's as an archer, Nakula's in managing horses, and Sahadēva's in astronomy and astrology.

The story of the House of Laç is narrated fully: the stratagem to destroy the Pāṇḍavas was due to the advice of Karṇa, whose relationship to the Pāṇḍavas (uterine brother of Yudhishṭhira through their common mother Kuntī) is indicated in a different manner—Karṇa is described as the son of Pāṇḍu. Then follows the story of the wandering of the five Pāṇḍavas and their mother, the shooting of the golden fish by Arjuna, and the winning of Draupadī who was married to the five brothers in common.

The battle between the Kauravas (Bhāratas) and the Pāṇḍavas started through the former refusing to the Pāṇḍavas their patrimony. Jayad-ratha and his forces came to the help of Duryōdhana, who was finally slain by an arrow. After the slaughter of the Kauravas, we have an interesting story of a Brahman coming to Gāndhārī to give her consolation and to admonish her to curb her grief. Gāndhārī would not take any counsel, but finally, overcome by hunger, she piled up her sons' bodies and mounted them to reach the food which was tantalizing her, dancing in the air beyond her reach.

Duḥśalā, according to this version, burnt herself after the death of her husband, but in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* she continued to live after this, and even after the death of her son she was looking after her grandson.

When Yudhishṭhira became emperor of India, Jayad-ratha's son (whose name is given as Snjw'rh=Prakrit *Saṃjōa-raha, Sanskrit *Saṃyōga-ratha: but the name is Suratha in the *Mahābhārata*) was confirmed as king of Sindh. Yudhishṭhira and his brothers finally abdicated and retired into the mountains, after making Arjuna's son Parikshit (his grandson, according to the *Mahābhārata*—Arjuna>Abhimanyu>Parikshit) emperor. He ruled for 30 years, then his son Janamējaya ruled after him for 20 years. Janamējaya's son was Śatānīka, ruling for 25 years, then Śatānīka's son Sahasrānīka ruled for 24 years. The next king after him was his son Ysr', and Ysr' (=Prakrit Yasa-rāa, Sanskrit Yaśōrāja) was succeeded by his brother Qwy'hwr, a vicious ruler who was killed after 15 years (this name has not been identified with its Indian original). He deviated from the customs of his

ancestors, and after his death Bhārata rule in Sindh came to an end.

After this are narrated half a dozen episodes, of which only the first has some connection with the *Mahābhārata*. These include a garbled version of the story of Paraśurāma, whose name figures as Brhmyn, and some stories which are partly Puranic and partly folk-lore.

The Indian original of this Arabico-Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* story is quite noteworthy in many respects. It undoubtedly belonged to Sindh, from its frequent reference to the Sindh background in narrating the *Mahābhārata* saga. The divergences and new episodes show the existence of saga materials outside of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, and this points to a different recension or independent version of the epic which was current in Sindh (and possibly in Western Panjab as well). For this reason, slight though this Perso-Arabic version may be, and corrupt in many parts, it has got its importance in *Mahābhārata* criticism and in the question of settling the history of the formation of the epic.

This independent or separate recension of the *Mahābhārata*, as current in Sindh, was unquestionably in a Prakritic vernacular, —a Bhashā—closely connected with which there might have existed a Sanskrit version as well. And this brings us to the other aspect of the study of this Arabic or Perso-Arabic version of the *Mahābhārata* story—the study of the forms of the proper names. The transcription of names and words, from one language using a particular script into another using a totally different one, forms a most valuable source of help in establishing the phonetics and phonology of both at the time of the transliteration. Reinaud himself fully appreciated this point when he in connexion with an extract from the Arabic work of Al-Bīrūnī on India (which he published also in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1844) made the following observation : “Il m’a semblé que l’étude comparée des formes sanscrites et arabes pourra conduire les indianistes à la connaissance de la manière dont le sanscrit se prononçait au XI^e siècle de notre ère dans le nord-ouest de l’Inde.” Elsewhere I have tried to study Al-Bīrūnī’s system of transliteration of Sanskrit words and names in the Old Kufic Arabic script which he* employed, from the point of view of the study of the phonetics of Sanskrit (in the

Al-Birūnī Millenary Celebrations Volume, published by the Iran Society of Calcutta). In the French account of the *Mahābhārata* story from Abu Ṣālih which I have quoted above, the names are given in their proper Sanskrit form. But the original Arabic transcriptions are not from Sanskrit but from some old form of Bhāshā or a New Indo-Aryan speech, like Hindki (or Western Panjabi) or Sindhi. And this form of the Bhāshā, through a number of peculiarities, phonological and phonetic, which are easily noticeable, can be identified as belonging to the North-Western Group of New Indo-Aryan, showing some important peculiarities which are specially characteristic of the speech of Sindh.

I have made a detailed study of these transliterations in my first article on the subject, "An Early Arabic Version of the *Mahābhārata* Story," which was published in the *Indian Linguistics*, Calcutta, 1948, pp. 17-25. The Indian names were rendered in the Kufic form of Arabic writing as it was current before 1000 A. D. At that time, the *nuqtas* or dots which distinguish one letter for a particular sound from another were not yet generally adopted in Perso-Arabic writing. There were frequently no differentiation among diverse sounds, because the same basic letter was used to indicate different sounds. Thus, without the addition of the dots, the same basic character had to do duty for such diverse sounds as *j, c, ḥ, x*, or as *b, p, t, θ, n, y*. Hence corrupt readings for foreign names was the rule in Early Arabic transcriptions. Thus a succession of three letters in Old Arabic Kufic writing could be read either as *ḥbs* or as *jsn*. It has been suggested by Dr. Hem Chandra Ray (in his study of Old Sindh History in his *Dynastic History of India*, 1931, Vol. I) that the name of an early King of Sindh, which was really *Jaisiya* (=Jaya-simha) was wrongly read as *ḥulliṣāh*, because of the defective system of writing.

I shall give a few typical examples showing how the names in the Arabic version were based, not on Sanskrit, but on some New Indo-Aryan speech. Thus, e. g. the names of some of the Pāṇḍava heroes and other personalities are given as *Jhtl, 'jwn, Nwl* (=Prakit Juhitṭhila, Ajjuṇa, Nēvala, for Sanskrit Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Nakula), and the name of Karna is written as *Fn* for *Qn* (=Qannu, for Kaṇṇu, Apabhraṁśa or Old Bhāshā equivalent of Sanskrit Karṇaḥ). The same basic letter, without *nuqtas* or dots, could stand for either *q* or *f* (*f* and *b* are the Arabic

substitutes for *p*, which sound does not occur in Arabic). The name *Pāṇḍu*, it is to be specially noted, is written as *F'n* (= *Fānnu* for **Pāṇṇu*, in place of the Sanskrit *Pāṇḍu*); similarly the spelling *Fndr* is an error of writing for *Qndy* (= *Qundī*, for **Kundī*, North-Western Vernacular transformation of Sanskrit *Kuntī*). We have *Dwd* (= **Dovvaddi*, in place of the Sanskrit *Draupadī*), *Djšwn* (error for **Djwhn* = *Dujjōhaṇa*, vernacular for Sanskrit *Duryōdhana*), *Indrt* (= **Jaanda-ratha*, from **Jayanta-ratha* = Sanskrit *Jayad-ratha*), *Brhmyn* (error for **Brhr'm* = *Barahu-rāma*, Arabicized form of a vernacular **Parahu-rāma*, in place of *Paraśu-rāma*, with characteristic North-Western dialectal change of the sibilant to *-h-*), etc., etc.

In the source-Prakrit of Sindhi, an Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit long vowel before a double consonant remained a long vowel—it did not become short, it always remained long: e. g. Skt. *ākhyā*, *vyāṭṭa*, *vyāghra*, *āmra*, *rātri*, *mārga*, *bāṣpa*, etc. occur in Sindhi as *ākha*, *vātu*, *vāghu*, *āmi*, *rāta*, *mānga*, *bāphe*, but in Hindki and Panjabi, they occur as *akkl*, *vatt*, *vaggh*, *amm*, *ratt*, *magg*, *bapph*. So *Pāṇḍu* > *Pāṇṇu* written as *F'n* (with the ' = the *alif* in the middle standing for a long *ā*) is indicative of the Sindhi character of the language of this work. A form like *F'n* = **Fānnu* for **Pāṇṇu*, and a few other ones like that, show that the originals of the names in the Arabic version of the *Mahābhārata* story were in what may be called Old Sindhi—the Sindhi language at the time of its emergence as a *Bhāshā* or New Indo-Aryan Speech from Middle Indo-Aryan. And this certainly will permit us to postulate the existence of an independent version of the *Mahābhārata* story in the language of Sindhi of times before c. 1000 A.D.—say, between 800 A.D. or 900 A.D. and 1000 A.D. We are, I believe, in a position to say that the literature in Sindhi can very well be taken back to a period 1000 years from now, to a time immediately after its characterization and its establishment as a New Indo-Aryan speech.

II. Old Sindhi Culture

Sindhi is one of the important New or Modern Indo-Aryan languages, and it has preserved a number of archaic features which are not to be found in any of its sister or cousin speeches. In certain respects it may be said to be nearer to the Middle Indo-

Aryan or Prakrit, on which it is based, than any other New Indo-Aryan speech, with the exception of Hindki or Lahndi (i. e. West Panjabi) dialects, and Panjabi (i. e. East Panjabi). The people of Sindh, more than any other people of India, were exposed to constant attacks and influences from the Muslim peoples of the West, from the beginning of the 8th century onwards. There were the Arabs, then various Persian tribes, then there were the Turks settled in Afghanistan and the Afghans as well as the Moguls from India, besides the local Baluchis and Brahuīs. Yet it is remarkable how the conservative character of the Sindhi speech, in its sound-system and in its grammar, and to a large extent also in its native vocabulary, has been maintained during the last thousand years or more. The history of Sindh for the greater part of this period, from the 8th century to the end of the 16th, was a troubled one, and the Hindu people of Sindh had somehow to maintain their very existence, with their religion and culture, against overwhelming odds. It has been for them a losing battle, but with admirable courage and fortitude, and love of the great ideals of their culture and religion, they kept on this struggle, right down to the Partition of 1947, which forced an *en masse* exodus of the Sindhi Hindus from their homes in Sindh.

During the period before the coming of the Arabs early in the 8th century, Sindh appears to have been quite abreast with other parts of India. We have a mention of Sindh in ancient Sanskrit documents as the country of *Sindhu-Sauwīra*. Sindh is an important kingdom in the *Mahābhārata*. Sindh originally included a part of Western Panjab (Multan), besides considerable tracts of what is now Balochistan and Makran. Linguistically, Kachh is a part of Sindh. South Sindh (Lār) and Sorāṭh or Saurāṣṭra appear to have possessed a common name (*Lāṭa*, called by the Greeks *Larikē* = Early Middle Indo-Aryan **Lāḍikā*). The ancient history of Sindh is not clear, but the people of ancient Sindh participated in the common cultural life of the Hindu people of the rest of India. Of course, we do not take into note here the vestiges of pre-historic civilization in Sindh as in the ruins of the ancient cities at Mohen-jo-Daro, Chhanhu-Daro and other places. These have a significance not only for Sindh, but also for the whole of Western and Northern India, and possibly also for Eastern and Southern India. But after the formation of a Hindu or Brahmanical people with a Sanskrit language as their mother-

tongue or common speech and Sanskrit as their literary and cultural language, Sindh also made its own contributions to the sum-total of Indian culture. Unfortunately, the remains of ancient Hindu civilization in Sindh which could be found on the surface have not been preserved, due to ravages of both mān and Nature. But nevertheless, what has been found by excavation of the ancient Brahmanical and Buddhist culture-sites of Sindh is sufficient to indicate the high artistic achievement of the Sindh people, which were at par with those of any other people of India. The fragments of Buddhist sculpture in stucco, and above all the bronze figure of Brahmā which has been obtained from Mirpur-Khas, are remarkable expressions of the artistic spirit of ancient Sindh. This image of Brahmā (which is one of the treasures of the Karachi Museum) is a bronze figure in the round with four faces, and it goes back to early 5th century A. D., when considered stylistically ; and it is one of the outstanding pieces of ancient Indian bronze, which is valuable both artistically as well as from the point of view of antiquity. There were doubtless other specimens of ancient Brahmanical and Buddhist art in Sindh. But unfortunately very little has been done in the way of excavation and conservation. Sindh was in this respect quite a neglected province.

Sindhi presents an archaic type of a Modern Indo-Aryan language, but it is none the less very expressive, and it has a character and a music of its own. Sindhi developed a number of sounds which are thought to be peculiar to it, e. g. the "implosive" sounds of *g'*, *j'*, cerebral *ḍ'*, and *b'*. These sounds are found also in the contiguous Rajasthani and Gujarati, and in most of the dialects of Hindki ; and in addition, they are found in distant East Bengali. There is a general agreement among most of the New Indo-Aryan languages (including also the advanced Dravidian languages of the South) in their literary history from 1000 A. D. onwards (1000 A. D. roughly is taken as the date when Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan generally underwent some new changes and became transformed into the Bhāshā or the New Indo-Aryan speeches of the present day). The history of Sindhi in the development of its literature could therefore be expected to have been similar to that of the histories of Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi (Kosali), Braj-Bhasha, Hindustani (or Hindi), Panjabi, Rajasthani-Gujarati and Marathi. In most of these Aryan languages,

we have a continuity of literary expression from 1000 A.D. onwards, which has remained unbroken right down to our day. The *corpus* of literature in each of most of these languages is quite considerable. But unfortunately, in the case of Sindhi, it has not been so. The reason is not far to seek. For the greater part of their history, the people of Sindh, who were Hindus, were faced with a complete extinction as a Hindu people. The country did not enjoy any long spell of peace and prosperity: and the Islamic spirit of proselytization was continually at work, making inroads into Hindudom in both its outward life and its inward spirit. The times were not at all propitious for the development of literature along national Hindu lines. Besides, Sindh largely remained isolated from the rest of India, owing to the Rajasthan desert and the Rann of Kachh and the sea acting as barriers preventing unchecked movement of the people. There could not be any free flow of men and interchange of ideas between the rest of India and Sindh, except by way of Western Panjab and Northern Sindh. Sindh was forced to become a part of the Eastern Iranian world, and it became the cockpit of peoples and tribes from Eastern Iran, after the initial period of Arab conquest and rule was over. These Muslim peoples and tribes fought among themselves and with the local Hindu chiefs for power. Western Panjab was also in a similar state. Hence the life-giving movements in religion and thought which were operative in the rest of India—in the South, in the East and in the North—could not have access into Sindh. After 1200 A.D., when the Turks became established in Northern India and the Islamic Period for North India began, as a counter-movement to the strong Islamic aggression on Hindu life and culture, the *Bhakti* school came into being, and it revived the mind and spirit of Hindu India and created a great literary upsurge. Sindh could not be benefited by this, both because of the difficulty of accessibility through the desert and because of the fact of Sindh being entirely under Muslim domination. All that was left to Sindh, by way of its culture and literary life, particularly among the Hindus, consisted of fragments of old pre-Muslim literature in Sanskrit and in Apabhraṃśa, which began to flow in small streams which were continually shrinking from the impact of Muslim literature and culture, together with a little new literature which grew up in Sindh round the lives and adventures of the Kings and Saints of Sindh, the Heroes and the Fighters and the Women who loved

and suffered or triumphed. There was a continuous and ever-growing impact of literature and literary ideals from the Perso-Arabic world, which were always a force for buttressing Islam. The Sindhi people, who were gradually forced in large numbers to accept Islam, naturally fell under the spell of these Islamic or Perso-Arabic literary ideals and traditions. As a result of all this, although in their inner being they remained largely Hindu, a good deal of Muslim literature and ideology became naturalized in Sindh. The present literary atmosphere in Sindh is in this way of a dual character. In the place of the *Bhakti* Movement of the North and the revival of Sanskrit literature, which took place from the 15th century onwards, and gave to North India poets like Kṛittivāsa, Śaṅkara-dēva, Tulasīdāsa, Mīrā Bāī, Sūradāsa and others, who are still forces in the religious and cultural life of the Hindus there, Sindh could not produce any Hindu poet of equal pre-eminence. In the place of the *Bhakti* Movement, which of course came to Sindh through Western Panjab, particularly through the message of the Gurus of Sikhism, Sindh was permeated with the spirit of Sufism. The first great poet of Sindh, and there is no one to equal him during the subsequent period, was the Sufi poet Shāh Latīf, the author of the mystic and devotional *Shāh-jō-Risālō*, and he lived at a comparatively late period, from 1688 to 1751.

III. Early Sindhi Literature : the Ballads and Stories referring to "the Matter of Sindh."

The earlier literature in a North Indian Aryan language, before the development of a new or modern tradition with the coming of the British and the establishment of English education, can be conveniently divided, in its narrative side, into three main types : (1) the literature based on the Ancient Hindu World as preserved in the epics the *Rāmāyāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and in the *Purāṇas*, particularly the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, and other Sanskrit (and Prakrit) literature ; (2) the literature based on the Mediaeval Legends and Stories about Gods, Saints, Heroes and Heroines, which are current in that Particular Linguistic Area ; and (3) the literature based on the Legends, Stories and Romances connected with the Islamic World of Iran

and Arabia. Following the nomenclature employed by an early French poet with regard to mediaeval French narrative poems and romances—he classified French romances into these three groups: (1) the *Matter of Britain*, referring to the stories relating to King Arthur and his cycle, which were British in origin; (2) the *Matter of France*, which comprised the romances relating to Emperor Charlemagne of Germany and France and his nephew Roland and others; and (3) the *Matter of Rome*, which comprised the stories of the ancient classical world which came to France through the Latin language—these three Types of Romantic Literature in the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages can be described as (1) the *Matter of Ancient India*, (2) the *Matter of Mediaeval India* relating to a particular language-area mainly, and (3) the *Matter of the Islamic World* (see before, pp. 96-101).

Sindhi literature, as a matter of fact, has all these three types of literature. But the *Matter of Ancient India*, which, although it existed in Old Sindhi, could not have that development and that special re-inforcement as the result of a wide-spread Hindu Revival in the 15th century, which it had in the other Indo-Aryan (and Dravidian) languages. The fact that the Arabs, when they were in Sindh, found the *Mahābhārata* story and some *Purāṇa* stories current among the Sindhi people in books written in the Old Sindhi language, is sufficient indication of the presence of this kind of literature relating to the Early Hindu World in the ancient language of Sindh between 712 A. D. and 1000 A. D. It would thus appear that the Sindhi people at that time were as much *au courant* with the literary heritage of the Indian or Hindu Nation as their neighbours, the peoples of Rajasthan and Gujarat and those of other parts of North India. But this could not be developed; and because Sindh was cut off from the rest of India, subsequent developments of this kind of literature in other parts of India could not exert much influence on the Hindu literature of Sindh.

With regard to the second type, namely the *Matter of Mediaeval India*, Sindhi was equally unfortunate. With the gradual affiliation of the Hindu people of Sindh to Islam, the original stories relating to the Mediaeval Kings and Queens

and great Heroes and Heroines and Saints and Devotees could not maintain their pure Hindu character. Unfortunately, no great poem was composed on these heroes—at any rate, we have so far no specimens or fragments of such a poem in Old Sindhi; and so, owing to a lack of a literature of a wide extent, the original character of these legends could not be preserved. In this domain, what has so far been found has been a number of Ballads and Tales which refer to some particular stories or episodes; and the historical and human character of these ballads or ballad-tales has been frequently overlaid by the spirit of mediaeval and later Persian romances.

The third type of literature, that celebrating the *Matter of the Islamic World*, supplies of course an important mass of compositions in Sindhi literature. But here, again, because the Sindhi people during the last 1000 years could not be very much interested in literature owing to the absence of general peace and prosperity in the country, nothing outstanding has been produced. The work of Shāh Latīf is something which stands apart. Sufistic Islam has got a universal appeal, and it is always appreciative of great things in other religious experiences also. This Sufi mentality supplied a common platform for both Hindus and Muslims, not only in Sindh but also in other parts of India, because Sufism in itself was influenced by the Indian Vēdānta and by Greek Philosophy; and hence the intransigence of the narrow path of Koranic orthodoxy was very largely modified in Sufism, and this made it acceptable to people of other religions.

The political history of Sindh has always been, and right down to modern times, very troubled and confused, and it has not been possible to give a full picture of this history. Prior to the coming of the Arabs, and leaving aside the pre-historic culture of *Mohen-jo-Daro*, the facts that we possess with regard to the ancient history of Sindh could be written in one page.

Apart from the connexion with the Ancient Hindu World of Northern India, as clearly envisaged also by the Old Sindhi Mahābhārata, we have to come down to the times of the Greeks when Alexander the Great passed through Sindh. Then

we have the period of the Kshatrapas, rulers of Saka or Iranian origin who ruled in Kathiawad and also in Sindh. We do not have any further light on the history of Sindh excepting in the early 7th century, when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang came and passed through Sindh. Before the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712-13, the Jats and the Meds or Meos were two of the important tribes of Sindh in the earlier centuries, and the Meds are heard of as being quite powerful in the 8th century also. The Arabs defeated Dahir, the last Hindu king of Sindh, and conquered the land, and they ruled over Sindh until 879 A.D. After that there was a period of confusion, and then arose some independent dynasties in Sindh and Multan; and later on, there was a clan of Rajputs, the Sūmras, who became dominant in Sindh from about 1025 to 1360. The names of some of these Sūmra kings are preserved in the Sindhi ballad literature, like Bhungar (who reigned roughly about 1060 A.D.) and his sons Dūda (or Dōdō) and Chanēsar. During the rule of these Sūmras, the country was under the suzerainty of Iranian Muslims who belonged to the Qarmatian sect. Another Rajput family came into prominence, the Sammas, whose aristocracy appears to have become, formally at least, Muslim, although a few of their rulers retained Hindu names. (A good résumé of early Sindh history from about 450 A.D. to the conquest of Sindh by Akbar in 1591 A.D. will be found in Dr. Hem Chandra Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India, Early Mediaeval Period*, Calcutta University, 1931, Vol. I, pages 1-54).

The literature which would interest the Hindu people of Sindh particularly, and also the rest of Hindu India, would naturally relate to the second type, namely, the literature connected with the kings and heroes and heroines as well as saints and devotees of the mediaeval period—literature relating to what may truly and specifically be described as the *Matter of Sindh*. Unfortunately, this survives only in a number of ballads which have been collected and published in recent years, and a few of these have been rendered into English, or re-told in English; and there has not been, as far as is known, any systematic compilation of these ballads.

Thanks to some individual writers here and there, and to the literary sense of an English civilian and historian like

C. A. Kincaid, some of these ballads or stories have been salvaged and made available to the English-reading public. In Kincaid's *Tales of Old Sind* (Oxford University Press, Madras, with line illustrations, 1922 : re-issued from Bombay in 1938 as *Tales of Old Ind*) and in his *Folk-tales of Sind and Gujarat* (published from Karachi in 1925), we get a few of these old Sindhi ballads. Doubtless Sindhi scholars have made collections of them. The story of Saswi and Punho, which is one of the most popular love-romances of Sindh, is quite an important ballad which has very fine literary qualities, and it may well be taken as the joint creation of the Sindhi Hindus and Muslims. In Kincaid's book *Tales of Old Sind* there are ten stories, some of which are historical, some purely romantic, and a few are folk-tales and fairy stories. The supernatural element is mingled with the historical, but most of these stories have a special Sindhi atmosphere about them. The first story in Kincaid's book gives what may be called an old or primitive version of the tragic story of the lovers Saswi, the Brahman girl, and Punho the Baloch chief's son. The story of King Dyach and Bijal, and of Momul and Rano have a background of magic, but they are of the soil of Sindh nevertheless. The story of the village lovers Marai and Khet, and King Umar's finally unsuccessful attempt to win Khet's betrothed Marai, has a folk quality about it. The tale of king Chanesar (Chandrēśvara?) and his queen Lila to whom he was devoted, and of Kaunro or Kauro, the daughter of King Khengar, who wanted to obtain the love of Chanesar, is a romantic story in the tragic vein which has also been found in ballad form in Kachh, and this story is peculiarly of Sindh. A Persian version of this story in a long narrative poem was composed by a Sindhi poet during the days of Emperor Akbar, and this Persian poem has been published. This long Persian version suggests the existence of a Sindhi original or basis of the poem over 300 years ago. The sixth tale, that of Ajit Singh and Rajbala, appears to be a Rajput ballad of love and adventure with a happy ending, which may have come from Gujarat. The ballad of Dodo and Chanesar is one of the best in the collection, and it is a stirring tale of Rajput chivalry and heroism. It refers to the princes of the Sumra dynasty of the 11th-12th centuries, and it is a

hero-tale with quite an epic character in its events and its final tragedy. It is a pity that more ballads with this kind of heroic flavour have not come to our ken, but it can be expected that there were and possibly still are more of them. The other stories are really folk-tales, but they also have their Sindhi character, at least the one of Jam Tamachi and Nuri the fisher-girl.

Kincaid has given in his *Folk-tales of Sind and Gujarat* another interesting story, doubtless of the ballad type or of ballad origin, relating to Uḍērō-lāl, the incarnation of Varuṇa, the God of the Sea and of the river Sindh or Indus, who was a helper at need to the Hindus; and another relating to Dalū Rāi, the tyrannical king of Brahmanabad, besides a few other interesting ballad themes from mediaeval Sindh.

Stories or ballads of the above type which hark back to the mediaeval age of Sindh, from say 800 A. D. to 1500 A. D., have a typical beauty of their own, and in certain respects they supplement what we find from history. The only source for the history of Sindh from about 450 A. D. to 1200 A.D., apart from references to Sindh and affairs of Sindh in Arab writers, is the Persian romantic chronicle the *Cac-Nāmah* (or *Fateḥ-Nāmah* or the *Tārīkh-i-Hind-wa-Sind*), which was completed in 1216 A.D. Here we find names of kings and rulers, some of which are preserved in the ballad literature. All sense of history of course has been totally lost in these ballads, but their romantic and heroic character is a matter of great literary value. The ballad or story of Uḍērō-lāl is unique of its kind, and one may feel certain that many other ballads of this type will be available which will throw some light into the religious notions and observations of the Hindu people of Sindh in early mediaeval times. A Muslim ruler in Sindh named Marak wanted to convert the Hindus of Sindh to Islam by force. This is said to have happened round about 939 A.D. The Hindus in their despair prayed to Varuṇa, the God of the Indus river. The God came to the rescue of the people, and Uḍērō-lāl, the young hero, was born, and by his miraculous powers he was able to prevent this conversion; and Uḍērō-lāl finally brought Marak and his group to repentance. Uḍērō-lāl is certainly to be looked upon as an incarnation of Varuṇa; the cult of Uḍērō-lāl is still current—or at least was

current when the bulk of the Sindhi Hindus were in Sindh. This cult may be looked upon as a popular form of the worship of Varuṇa. My friend, Paṇḍit Kṛishṇachandra Topanlāl Jetali suggests that the name Uḍērō comes from Sanskrit *Udaka-vara* ("the holy waters"). It may perhaps better be derived from a Prakrit form like **Uḍḍa-yarau*, which would be from the Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit **Udra-karakah* ("the Creator of the Waters"; compare Vedic *udrin*, "possessing water") and this would become normally *Uḍērō* in Sindhi. Further, a story of this type has a very great anthropological and religious interest as well. The story of Dalū Rāi of Brahmanabad is narrated differently by both Hindus and Muslims, and undoubtedly it has preserved some old Hindu tradition about the destruction of the city of Brahmanabad as a punishment for the iniquities of its ruler.

The Sindhis who were forced out of their hearths and homes and have now come to settle in India still love these poems and ballads ; and these ought to be preserved, both for themselves and their posterity, as well as for other Indians. A selection of these ballads should be made and published either in the Roman or in the Nagari script, with English translation. Although the stories represent only the fragments of a tradition in a largely garbled form, they are precious relics of the past of the Sindhi people. Their language may now show a large percentage of Perso-Arabic words, but I have been told that generally their grammar and the basic elements are pure Sindhi, and the words are also very old and sometimes archaic. A proper study of the Sindhi language cannot be made for want of materials. Before the *Shāh-jō-Risālō*, nothing worth mentioning has been preserved in Sindhi ; and whatever can be described as Early Sindhi, if not genuine Old Sindhi (although they have been preserved orally till recent times), are the songs, poems and ballads. The proper editing and publication of these, making them accessible to interested scholars everywhere, is a literary enterprise of a very urgent and valuable character which should be taken up by Sindhis who love their language and their culture and are anxious to preserve the available early literature in their mother-tongue.

Sindhi has a Modern Literature, starting from the middle of the 19th century, after Sindh came under British rule in 1843. There has been the mediaeval tradition of Sindhi literature of Muslim inspiration, and the Sūfi mystic poet-saint Shāh Latīf has been recognized as the greatest writer of Sindhi by both Hindus and Muslims. Sindhi has suffered a good deal for want of an adequate alphabet. The old native or Indian script used for Sindhi, ultimately related to the Śāradā script of Kashmiri and the Gurmukhi of Panjabi, is current in a debased form among the Hindu businessmen of Sindh in keeping their accounts, and it is known as the *Laṇḍā* script. The Gurmukhi script was used for Sindhi to a very slight extent, and some European students of Sindhi tried to introduce the Nagari—but that attempt failed. A kind of hap-hazard use of the Perso-Arabic script has continued all through for Sindhi, and during the fourth quarter of the 19th century, quite an elaborate alphabet of Sindhi on the basis of the Perso-Arabic script, with special letters for all the Sindhi sounds, in addition to all the letters for Arabic sounds not heard at all in Sindhi, was established through the endeavours of the Sindhi Hindu *amils* or government officials. Now Sindhi is written and printed ordinarily in this extended Perso-Arabic alphabet.

The Partition of India has given a great blow to Sindhi, as most of the Hindu Sindhis, forming a very small percentage of the Sindhi-speaking population, had to seek refuge in India. Sindhi has not yet been recognized as a language of India in the *Constitution*, although the Sindhis are very keen on its being given a place in the list of the Modern Languages of India. The All India Radio and the *Sāhitya Akāḍemi*, however, have recognized it. There is a controversy over what should be the script for Sindhi in India—a good percentage of the Sindhis who have come to India for good asking for the Nagari, with certain modifications.

Literary endeavour in Sindhi both among Hindus and Muslims was going on in Sindhi all through the last 50 or 80 years, and Sindhi writers both Hindu and Muslim have produced a respectable mass of Modern Sindhi literature. In India, Sindhi has started a new literary life, and it is now being tremendously

influenced by Hindi as well as Urdu and Bengali literatures, besides Gujarati and Marathi. The influence of English is also there, naturally enough. After Sindhi life in India has been well established, it may be hoped that there will be a veritable Renaissance in Sindhi, and there are plentiful signs for this. The present paper has sought to give only a few aspects of Sindhi literature in its old and early mediaeval stages, and a full or proper history of Sindhi literature still remains to be told.

**A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGES &
LITERATURES OF MODERN INDIA**

(Only Books in English, and a few in French and German,
are included in this Bibliography)

[A] THE LANGUAGES

For a complete general survey of all the Modern Languages of India, Aryan and Non-Aryan, the monumental work of Sir George Abraham Grierson, the *Linguistic Survey of India* (in 20 volumes, 1903-1928, published by the Government of India) is still the great authority to fall back upon, and is indispensable. Full bibliographies for the different languages will be found in this great work, in which all the data available to Grierson and his colleagues for these languages, together with fairly extensive specimens with translation and linguistic analysis, will be found. The first Volume (Vol. I, Part I, Introductory, 1927) gives a full general survey of the entire terrain. Mention is to be made of the Chapter on *Languages* contributed by Grierson to the Report on the Census of India, 1901 (published separately as *The Languages of India*, Calcutta 1903), which gives a first general survey of the entire field. Cf. also *The Languages of India : a Kaleidoscopic Survey* (Our India Directories and Publications Private Ltd., Madras 1958).

(1) THE INDO-ARYAN SPEECHES, AS WELL AS DARDIC

Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* is a work giving a general description and classification of the various languages, and does not seek to offer an account of the historical development of them, although Grierson has made important contributions to this subject. As the basis of the history of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages and dialects, a knowledge of that of Middle Indo-Aryan (the Prakrits and Apabhramsa) and Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit), leading to Primitive Indo-European and Indo-Hittite, is ultimately necessary. A few select works are indicated below.

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THE PLATES

The Plates appended here have been arranged in three sections, as follows :

I. Plates giving Specimens of the Brāhmī Script and its Development through the Centuries, as recorded in ancient Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions ;

II. Plates giving Specimens of Modern Indian Languages and the Scripts in which they are written and printed ; and

III. Plates presenting a Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Indian Writers through the Centuries.

**SPECIMENS OF THE BRAHMĪ SCRIPT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT
THROUGH THE CENTURIES.**

The Plates that follow (nos. 1—9) give an indication of the development of the Brāhmī Script, the Mother of all Modern Indian Scripts, from the third century B. C. to the tenth century A. D., as recorded in inscriptions.

From Mauryan Brāhmī of the third century B. C. developed Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī of the early centuries after Christ, and then it developed into the Brāhmī of the Gupta period (c. 4th-5th centuries A. D.), and from Gupta Brāhmī of North India originated the script of the 7th century A. D. (of the time of Harṣa-vardhana), known as the Siddha-Māṭṛkā. All North India scripts, Nāgarī included, have originated from this 7th century development of Brāhmī in North India.

Similarly, in the seventh century A. D. the Brāhmī Script in the Deccan and South India took a characteristic form, the Pallava Script. From Pallava originated, after 1000 A. D., the Modern Scripts of the South—the Telugu-Kannada, the Grantha-Tamil-Malayalam, and also the Sinhalese from the early Grantha.

(1. 1.) Dēvāna piyēna piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhisitēna
(1. 2.) atana āgāca mahīyitē hida Budhē jātē Sakyamunīti
(1. 3.) silā-vigada-bhīcā kālāpita silā-thabhē ca usapāpītē
(1. 4.) hida bhagavaṃ jātēti Lummini-gāmē ubalikē kaṭṭhē
(1. 5.) athabhāgiyē ca.

ቅዱስ ስፍራ ሕይወት ሰጪ ሰጪ ሰጪ
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 ስላለን ስላለን ስላለን ስላለን
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 ስላለን ስላለን ስላለን ስላለን

(1. 1.) Dēvanāmpriyō priya[dra]śi raja savra[rva]tra ichati
savra[rva]-
(1. 2.) praśamda vasēyu savē hi tē sayamē bhava-śudhi ca
ichamti
(1. 3.) janō cu ucavuca-chaṁdō ucavuca-ragō tē
savram[rvam] ēkadēśam va-
(1. 4.) pi kaśamti vipulē pi cu danē yasa nasti sayama bhaya
(1. 5.) śudhi kitraññāta dridha-bhatita nicē padham.

𑀧 𑀭 𑀢 𑀤 𑀧 𑀧 𑀤 𑀢 𑀭 𑀢 𑀤 𑀧 𑀢
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4. Fragmentary Stone Inscription of King Sarvatata at Ghōsūṇḍī, Chitōrgaḍḍī Dist., Rājasthān : Date, c. 2nd half of the 1st century B. C. ; Language, Sanskrit ; Script, Brāhmī.

(l. 1.) -na Gājāyanēna Pārāsarī-purtē[trē]ṇa sa-

(l. 2.) [...]-jina bhagava[d]bhyām Saṁkarṣaṇa-Vasudēvabhyām

(l. 3.) -bhyām puja-śīla-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka.

𑀧 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢
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5. Lines 4-7 of the Stone Inscription of Huviṣka at Mathurā, U. P. : Date, c. 1st decade of the 2nd century A. D. ; Language, Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit ; Script, Brāhmī.

(l. 1.) -to māsānumāsaṁ śuddhasya catudīśi puṇya-śā[lā]-

(l. 2.) yaṁ brāhmaṇa-śataṁ pariviśitavyaṁ divasē diva[sē]

(l. 3.) ca puṇya-śā[ā]lāyē dvāra-mulē dhāriyē sādya-
saktanā ā-

(l. 4.) dhakā 3 lavṛṇa-prasthō 1 śakta-prasthō 1 harita-
kalāpaka

ନାମସଂସ୍କୃତଂ ଶିବରାଜାୟ ନମଃ ସ୍ତୁତ୍ୟ ନମଃ ଶିବରାଜାୟ
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 ଯତଃ ସ୍ତୁତ୍ୟ ନମଃ ଶିବରାଜାୟ ଯତଃ ସ୍ତୁତ୍ୟ ନମଃ
 ଶିବରାଜାୟ ଯତଃ ସ୍ତୁତ୍ୟ ନମଃ ଶିବରାଜାୟ
 ଯତଃ ସ୍ତୁତ୍ୟ ନମଃ ଶିବରାଜାୟ ଯତଃ ସ୍ତୁତ୍ୟ ନମଃ
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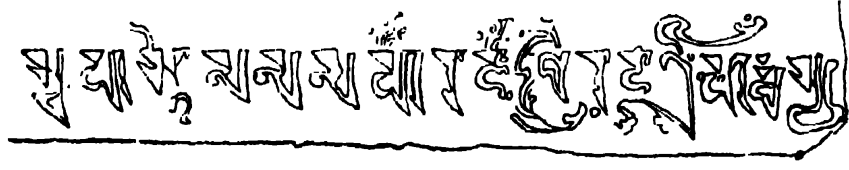
6. Line 28 (split into 3 lines) and line 29 (split into 4 lines) of the Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta at Allahabad, U. P. : Date, middle of the 4th century A. D. ; Language, Sanskrit ; Script, (Gupta) Brāhmī of the Northern type.

- (1. 1.) lōkasamaya-kkriyānuvidhāna-mātra-mānuṣasya
lōka-dhāmnō dēvasya
- (1. 2.) mahārāja-Śrī-Gupta-prapautrasya mahārāja-Śrī-
Ghaṭōtkaca-pautrasya
- (1. 3.) Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta-putrasya
- (1. 4.) Licchavi-dauhitrasya mahādēvyām Kumaradēvyām
utpha[pa]nnasya
- (1. 5.) mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Samudraguptasya
- (1. 6.) sarvva-prṭhivī-vijaya-janitōdaya-vyāpta-nikhilāvani-
talām
- (1. 7.) kīrttim itas tridaśa-pati-

[illegible]

7. Lines 23-26 of the Copper-plate Inscription of the Pallava King Paramēśvara-varman, found at Kūram, near Kāñchipuram, in Madras State : Date, latter half of the 7th century A. D. ; Language, Sanskrit ; Script, Brāhmī of the Southern type. (From the reproduction in *Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa* by C. Sivaramamurti, p. 59. The latter portion of the inscription is in Tamil. For full particulars see *South Indian Inscriptions, Vol I*, pp. 148-49.)

- (1. 1) **agaṇita-nara-haya-kari-kula-vimardda-janitēna**
rēṇu-tuhinēna
- (1. 2) **ārōpita-śaśi-maṇḍala-sādrśya-sahasra-kara-bimbē**
- (1. 3) **paṭaha-rava-garjjitōgrē vikōśa-nistriṃśat(=d)-**
vidyud-ābhōgē
- (1. 4) **pracarita-kuñjara-jaladē vikāla-varṣāvatāra iva**
- (1. 5) **tumga-turaṅga-taraṅgē pracarat-kari-makara-janita-**
viṣamāvartto
- (1. 6) **aviralam udīrṇṇa-śaṃkhē vijrmbhamāṇē samudra iva...**



8. Facsimile of the autograph of King Harṣa-vardhana, at the end of his Copper-plate Inscription, found at Banskhera, 25 miles from Shājahānpur, in U. P. : Date, first half of the 7th century A. D. ; Language, Sanskrit ; Script, Siddha-mātrkā.

svahastō mama mahārājādhirājasya Śrī-Harṣasya

कषणवत्तकोवराहश्रादः
 तिम्रश्रादः प्रवल्गुवल्गुः
 श्रीमदमोघवर्षमृयतिः श्रादः
 वायः ॥ तैमाकारि नगानुकारि

9. Lines 10-13 of the fragmentary Stone Inscription of Lakṣmaṇa-rāja I at Kāritalai, District Jabalpur, in Madhya Pradesh. Date, middle of the 9th century A. D. ; Language, Sanskrit ; Script, Old Nāgarī,

- (l. 1) Kaṣagrāvad-alakō varāha-vyāhārah sma...
- (l. 2) tismṛtyācāra-pravaṇa-dhiṣaṇaḥ pu[ṇya]-...
- (l. 3) śrīmad-Amōghavarṣa-nṛpatiḥ pādau[na]-...
- (l. 4) vāparaḥ || tēnakāri nagānukāri ga...

**II. SPECIMENS OF MODERN INDIAN SCRIPTS AND LANGUAGES,
WITH SANSKRIT IN DIFFERENT SCRIPTS.**

The Plates that follow give specimens of the Various Scripts which are current in modern India, and of the modern Indian Languages which are written and printed in them.

The first verse of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, as printed in the different scripts, is given throughout, with translation in modern Indian Languages. The Sanskrit Verse is first given in a transcription in Brāhmī characters of the third century B. C., with Roman transliteration and English translation. Brāhmī, the Mother of all Indian Scripts, was unquestionably the script used for Sanskrit as much as for the Prakrits (and Dravidian) in pre-Christian and early post-Christian centuries.

Sanskrit is now commonly printed, for Pan-Indian as well as International use, in the Nāgarī Script, which is generally current over a great part of North India, including U. P., Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and to some extent in Panjab, and also in Bihar. But it should be noted that the various local scripts have always been used, same as the Nāgarī, in writing and printing Sanskrit in different parts of India.

The name of the script has been noted above each of the specimens from different languages, transcriptions from which in Roman are also given. These form a sort of supplement to the specimens given in the Appendix under the LANGUAGES, pp. 70-92 above.

1. Sanskrit in Brāhmī

ॐ४८३ ४४८३ ४४८३ ४४८३ ४४८३
४४८३ ४४८३ ४४८३ ४४८३ ४४८३

dharmā-kṣētrē kuru-kṣētrē samavētā yuyutsavaḥ
māmakāḥ pāṇḍavāścaiva kim akurvata sañjaya

“In the field of righteousness, the field of the Kurus, when my people and the sons of Pāṇḍu had gathered together, eager for battle, what did they do, O Sañjaya ?” (Trans. by S. Radhakrishnan).

2. Sanskrit in Nāgarī (Dēvanāgarī), the Script for Hindi and a number of other North Indian Languages.

Nāgarī in Calcutta or North Indian Fount

धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ।

मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत सञ्जय ॥

Nāgarī (or Bālabōdha) in Bombay Fount

धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ।

मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥

3. Hindi

हे सञ्जय, धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की अभिलाषा से एकत्र हुए मेरे
पुत्र और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

hē Sañjay, dharm-kṣētr Kuru-kṣētr-mē yuddh-kī abhilāṣā-
sē ēkatr huē mērē putr aur Pāṇḍu-kē putrō-nē kyā kiya ?

4. Nepali

हे सञ्जय, पुण्यभूमि कुरुक्षेत्रमा मेरा लड़ाई गर्ने इच्छाले मिला
भएका र पाण्डुका छोराहरूले के गरे ?

hē Sañjaya, puṇya-bhūmi Kuru-kṣētra-mā mērā laṛāī garnē
icchā-lē mēlā bhaēkā ra Pāṇḍu-kā chōrā-harū-le kē garē ?

5. Rajasthani

कुरुक्षेत्र की धरम-भोम में लड़बा खातर जोस भर्या,
सञ्जय, मेरा अर पाण्डू का बेटा के के करम कर्या ?

Kurukṣētra-kī dharam-bhōm-mē larbā khātar jōs bharyā,
Sañjay, mērā ar Pāṇḍu-kā bēṭa kē kē karam karyā ?

6. Marathi

हे संजया, धर्मक्षेत्र म्हणून प्रसिद्ध असलेला कुरुक्षेत्र नावाच्या मैदानावर
जमलेले युद्धाला उत्सुक झालेले माझे पुत्र (कौरव) आणि (पांडुचे पुत्र) पांडव
काय करिते झाले ?

he Sañjayā, dharmā-kṣētra mhaṇūn prasiddha asalēlā
Kuru-kṣētra nāwā-cyā maidānā-war jamalēlē yuddhā-lā
utsuk jhālēlē (= zālēlē) mājhe (= māzē) putra (Kauraw) āṇi
(Pāṇḍu-cē putra) Pāṇḍaw kāy karitē jhālē (= zālē) ?

7. Gujarati

(with Sanskrit in Gujarati Script)

धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः,
भामहा. पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय. १

हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्रमां ऐक्यं भवेत्ता, युद्धनी
धर्मवाणी भासा पुत्रो अने पांडुना पुत्रोऽपि शुं क्युं ? १

hē Sañjay ! dharmā-bhūmi Kuru-kṣētra-mā ēkadha maṭēlā,
yuddha-nī icchā-wāṭā mārā putrō anē Pāṇḍu-nā putrō-ē
śū karyū ?

8. Panjabi

(in Gurmukhi Script)

Sanskrit is sometimes written in Gurmukhi characters, but as Gurmukhi lacks some letters which are necessary for Sanskrit, only a makeshift arrangement is followed in transcribing Sanskrit in the Gurmukhi script. Professor Vidya-bhaskar Arun has by use of diacritical marks amplified the current Gurmukhi script to write

Sanskrit, and he has used his admirable system in transcribing Sanskrit words in his Panjabi (Gurmukhi) book *Panjābī Bhāṣhā-dā Itihas* (Panjābī Sāhitt Akāḍamī, Ludhiana, 1956).

Below is given a Panjabi version of the Gītā verse in Gurmukhi, with Roman transliteration.

ਸੰਜੈ ! ਧਰਮ ਖੇਤ ਕੁਰੁਖੇਤਰ,
ਮੇਰੇ ਤੇ ਪਾਂਡੂ ਦੇ ਪੁੱਤਰ,
ਜੁੜੇ ਜੁ ਜੁਧ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਚਾਹਿ,
ਕੀ ਕਿਤਾ ਸੋ ਕਹੋ ਸੁਣਾਇ ।

Sañjai ! dharam-khēt Kuru-khetar,
mērē tē Pāṇḍū dē puttār,
jure ju juddh karan dē cai
kī kitā, sō kahō suṇāi.

9. Bengali

(with Sanskrit in Bengali Characters)

ধর্মক্ষেত্রে কুরুক্ষেত্রে সমবেতা যুযুৎসবঃ ।
মামকাঃ পাণ্ডবান্ধেচব কিমকুর্বত সঞ্জয় ॥

হে সঞ্জয় ! যুদ্ধাভিলাষী আমার পুত্রেরা এবং পাণ্ডবেরা ধর্মক্ষেত্র
কুরুক্ষেত্রে সমবেত হইয়া কি করিল ?

he Sañjay ! yuddhabhilāṣī (y- j) āmār putr-ēra ēvaṁ
Pāṇḍab-ēra dharmā-kṣētra Kuru-kṣētrē samabēta haiyā
ki karila ? (kṣ- - kkh)

10. Assamese

(with Sanskrit in Assamese Characters)

ধর্মক্ষেত্রে কুরুক্ষেত্রে সমবেতা যুযুৎসবঃ ।
মামকাঃ পাণ্ডবান্ধেচব কিমকুর্বত সঞ্জয় ॥

হে সঞ্জয়, ধর্মক্ষেত্র কুরুক্ষেত্রত যুদ্ধ কৰিবলৈ মিলিত হোৱা, আমাৰ
আৰু পাণ্ডৱ উভয় পক্ষে কি কৰিলে ?

hē Sañjay (= xānzāy), dharmā-kṣētra Kuru-kṣētra-t yuddha
(= zuddha) kariba-lai milita hōwā, āmār āru Pāṇḍaw,
ubhay pakṣē ki karilē ? (kṣ= kkh)

11. Manipuri (Meithei)

(A Tibeto-Burman Language which adopted the Bengali-Assamese Script from the middle of the 18th century.)

হে সঞ্জয়, লান শোকানিংছনা ধর্মগী মফম ওইবা কুরুক্ষেত্রদা তিন্মখরবা
ইচাসিং অমসুং পাণ্ডুগী মচাসিংনা করি করি তৌখিবগে ?

he Sònjòy, lān śoknānindunā dhòrmò-gī mòphòm 'oibā
Kurukkhetrò-da tinnòkhòrbā icāsīn òmòsun Paṇḍu-gī
mòcāsinnā kòri kòri toukhibòge ?

12. Oriya

(with Sanskrit is Oriyā Characters)

ଧର୍ମକ୍ଷେତ୍ରେ କୁରୁକ୍ଷେତ୍ରେ ସମବେଦା ଯୁଦ୍ଧସୁବଃ ।

ମାମତାଃ ପାଣ୍ଡବାଣ୍ଡେ ବା କମକୁବଂତ ସଞ୍ଜୟ । ୧ ।

ହେ ସଞ୍ଜୟ । ଧର୍ମଭୂମି କୁରୁକ୍ଷେତ୍ରେ ମୋର ପୁତ୍ରମାନେ ଏକ
ପାଣ୍ଡବମାନେ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବା ମାତ୍ରରେ ଏକତ୍ର ହୋଇ କଣ କଲେ । ୧ ;

hē Sañjaya ! dharma-bhūmi Kuru-kṣētra-rē mōra putra-
mane ehaṁ Paṇḍaba-mane yuddha kariba manasa-rē
ēkatrita hōi kaṇa kalē ? (kṣ - kkh)

13. Tamil

(with Sanskrit in both Grantha and Tamil Characters)

யுத்தக்ஷେத்ரே கୁருக்ஷேத்ரே ஸமவேதா யுத்யஸுவஃ
ஜாஸகாஃ பாண்டவாஸௌ கிரிகுலத்த ஸஜைய ।

தர்மக்ஷேத்ரே குருக்ஷேத்ரே ஸமவேதா யுத்யஸுவஃ ।

மாமதாஃ பாண்டவாஸௌவ கமகுலத சஞ்ஜய ॥

‘‘சஞ்சயா! புண்ணிய பூமிபான குருக்ஷேத்திரத்தில்
என் புத்திரர்களான தரியோதன ஞ்சுபரும், பாண்டு புத்
திரர்களான தருமராஜனாதியரும் யுத்த சந்தததர்களாய்
என்ன செய்தார்கள்?’’

Sañjaya ! puṇṇiya-pūmiyān'a Kuru-kṣēttirat-til en'
pūttira-r-gaḷ-ān'a Duriyōdan'an'-ādiyar-um Paṇḍu-puttira-
r-gaḷ-ān'a Darumarājan'-ādiyar-um yutta-cannatta-gaḷāy
en'n'a śeydār-gaḷ ?

14. Malayalam

(with Sanskrit in Malayalam Characters)

ധർമ്മക്കേന്ദ്രേ കരുക്കേന്ദ്രേ സമവേതം യുയുസധഃ
മഥകരഃ പാണ്ഡവശ്ചൈവ കീമകർഷ്ഠ സഞ്ജയ!

അല്ലയോ ന: ബുദ്ധധർമ്മക്കേന്ദ്രമായ കരുക്കേന്ദ്രത്തിൽ
യുദ്ധമുഖം അളയ്ക്കി കരുമിച്ചുകൂടി സമാധാനം (ഭയ്യുധനാദികളും)
പാണ്ഡവ നാലും ഏതു ചെയ്യും?

allayō Sañjaya ! dharmma-kṣētramāya Kuru-kṣētrattil
yuddhēcchukkaḷāyi orumiccukutīya māmakanmārum
(Duryōdhanādikaḷum) Pāṇḍavanmārum entu ceytu ?

15. Kannada

(with Sanskrit in Kannada Characters)

ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಷೇತ್ರೇ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರೇ ಸಮವೇತಾ ಯುಯುತ್ಸವಃ |
ಮಾಮಕಾಃ ಪಾಂಡವಾಶ್ಚೈವ ಕಿಮಕುರ್ವತ ಸಂಜಯಾ ! || ೧ ||

“ಓ ಸಂಜಯಾ! ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ನೆಲೆಯಾದ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ, ಯುದ್ಧ ಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದು
ಬಂದು ಕೂಡಿದ ನನ್ನ ಮಕ್ಕಳೂ, ಪಾಂಡವರೂ ಏನು ಮಾಡಿದರು?”

Ō Sañjaya ! dharmakke neleyāda Kurukṣētra-dalli
yuddha māḍabēkendu bandu kūḍida nanna makkaḷu,
Pāṇḍavarū ēnu māḍidarū ?

16. Telugu

(with Sanskrit in Telugu Characters)

ధర్మక్షేత్రే కురుక్షేత్రే సమవేతా యుయుత్సవః,
మామకాః పాండవాశ్చైవ కిమకుర్వత సంజయ.

సంజయా ! ధర్మక్షేత్ర మగు కురుక్షేత్రములో
కూడుకొని యుద్ధము చేయడలచిన నావారును, పాండవు
లును ఏమిచేసిరి?

Sañjaya ! dharmma-kṣētra-magu Kuru-kṣētra-mulō
kūḍukoni yuddhamu cēya dalacina nāvārunu, Pāṇḍa-
vulunū ēmi cēsiri ?

17 Urdu

The Sanskrit text is first given in ordinary Urdu writing, without vowel points. (Some Sanskrit texts were made available in this way to Arya Samaj members and others in Panjab and elsewhere.)

دھرم لکشیترے کر لکشیترے سمویا یلیسوہ
 ماماہ پانڈوا شچیو کمروت سنجی

Actual transliteration of the Sanskrit verse in Urdu writing :

dhrmkšytry krkšytry smwyt' yytswh,
 m'mk'h p'ndw'šcyw kmkrwt snjy.

The above Sanskrit in Urdu letters with vowel-points—

دھرم لکشیترے کر لکشیترے سمویا یلیسوہ
 ماماہ پانڈوا شچیو کمروت سنجی

dharma-kšytry kuru-kšytry samawyt' yuyutsawah
 māmākāh pāṇḍawāścaywa kimakurwata sanjaya.

اے سنجی، مجھے بتاؤ کہ اُس پاک سرزمین جسے
 کورو لکشیتر (کورو کا میدان) کہتے ہیں جنگ کرنے کی
 خواہش سے جمع ہو کر میرے اور پانڈو کے بیٹوں نے کیا کیا؟

'y snjy, mjhy bt'w kh us p'k srzmyn, jsy kwrwkhšytr
 (kwrwk' myd'n) khty hyn, jng krny ky xw'hś sy jm' hwkr
 myry 'wr P'ndw ky byṭwn ny ky' ky' ?

=ai sanjai, mujhē batāo ki us pāk sar-zamīn, jisē
 Kūrūkhśētar (Kūrū-kā maidān) kahtē haī, jang karnē-kī
 xvāhiś-sē jama' hōkar mērē aur Pāṇḍū-kē bēṭō-nē
 kyā kiya ?

18. Sindhi

هي سنجا، ڌرم جي جاءِ ڇيڪا
 ڪرڪيتر آهي تنهن ۾ سنهنجن
 پتنن ۽ پانڊون جي پتنن جا
 ٿيو سو ۽ ونڪي ٻڌاءِ؟

A Nagari transcription of the above :

हे संजा, धर्मजी जाइ जेका कुरुक्षेत्र आहे तै'ह' में मुंह'जन पुटन
 आइ पांडवन जे पुटन छा कयो सो मू'खे बुधाइ ।
 hē Sanjā, dharm-jī jāi jēkā Kuru-khētar āhē, taihā-mē
 mūhājan puṭan āi Pāṇḍawan-jē puṭan chā kayō, sō
 mū-khē b'udhāi.

19. Kashmiri

In the absence of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* text, with a specimen of Kashmiri in its native Śāradā script, a few lines from Habba Khātun, distinguished poetess of Kashmir (16th century : see before, pp. 261 ff), is given in the current orthography in modified Persian Characters, with Roman transliteration and English translation from Professor Jialal Kaul's *Kashmiri Lyrics*, Srinagar, 1945.

گندہ نے دُرايس تود گيہ سہ دست
 درہ درہ يامت لوست گوم
 مالہو مياني ارباب اسي
 توے درام جہہ خوتون نادر
 دہنہ کی تپہ ريشہ تپہ آيہ دست
 درہ درہ يامت لوست گوم

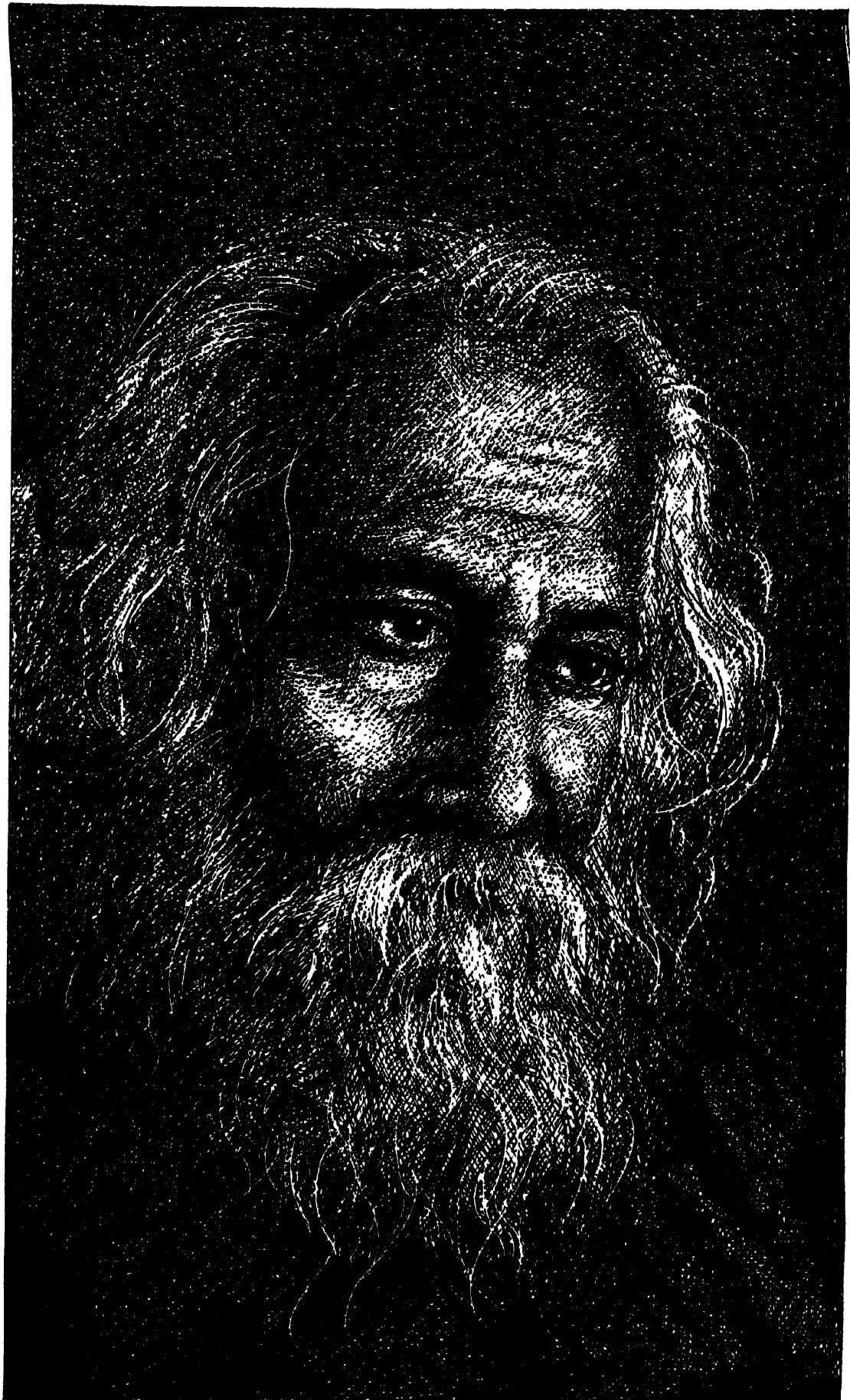
gindani drāyas turl gayas rasith
 dōhdari yānI (yāmath) lūsith gom.
 mālinI myānI arbāb āsI
 tavay pyom (drām) Haba khotūn nāv.
 vanakī taparēshI tapa āy vāsith,
 dōhdari yānI (yāmath) lūsith gom.

[The a in the words gindani, rasith, vanakī (second a),
 taparēshI (second a) should be with a dot below, standing
 for a sound like the 'neutral vowel', ə. Variants in the
 Kashmiri text are given within brackets.]

"I left my home for play but returned not,
 When the day sank in the West.
 I came of noble parentage,
 And made a name as Haba Khatūn.
 And ascetics hurried out of woods,
 When the day sank in the West."

III. WRITERS IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES THROUGH THE CENTURIES

Some of the outstanding poets and other writers and inspirers in thought and literature in India, ever since the modern languages of the country began to produce written literature, have been presented in the gallery of portraits which follows. The portraits of a few writers are based on early representations which are traditional but may not be authentic, and the rest are taken from photographs. A good many other writers might properly have been included, but it was difficult to procure their portraits.





1. Tiruvalluvar
(? Early Centuries A. D.)



2. Āṇḍal
(c. 8th Century A. D. ?)



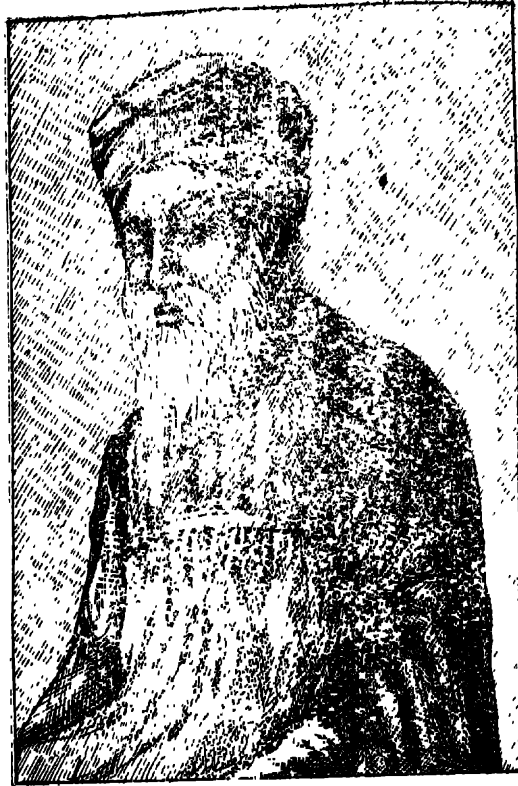
3. Basavappa
(12th Century)



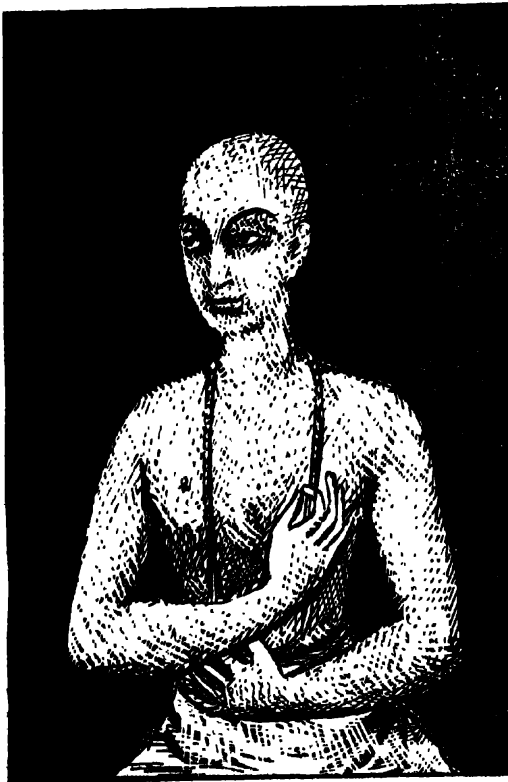
4. Sant Kabir Dās
(1399—1518)



5. Narasimha Mahatā (Narsī Mehtā)
(1415—1481)



6. Sṛī Guru Nānak
(1469—1538)



7. Chaitanya



8. Mīrā Bāī



9. Sūra-dāsa
(? 1505—1563)



10. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya
(First half of the 16th Century)



11. Tulasī-dāsa
(1523—1623)



12. Tāna-sēna
(? 1548—? 1596)



13. Sultān Muḥammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh
(1580—1611)



14. Upēndra Bhañja
(1670--1720)



15. Khān Ghelīb



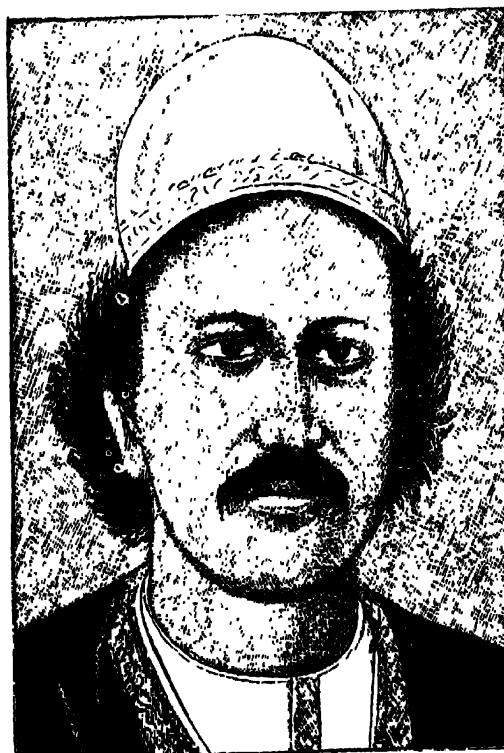
17. Īśwara Chandra Vidyāsāgara
(1820—1891)



18. Māikēl Madhusūdan Datta
(1824—1873)



19. Bankim Chandra Chatterji
(1838—1894)



20. Hariś Chandra
(1846—1884)



21. Kandukuri Virēṣa-liṅgam Pantulu
(1848—1919)



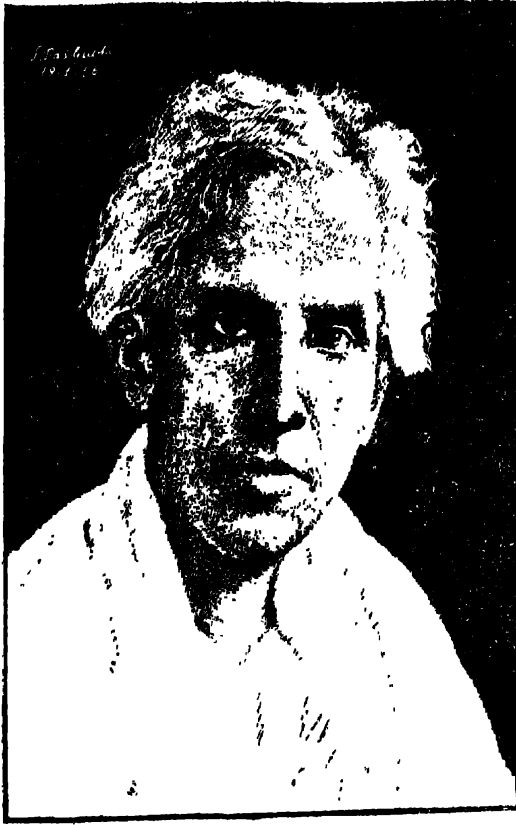
22. Gurujāḍa Appārāvu
(1861—1915)



23. Hari Nārāyaṇ Āpṭe
(1864—1910)



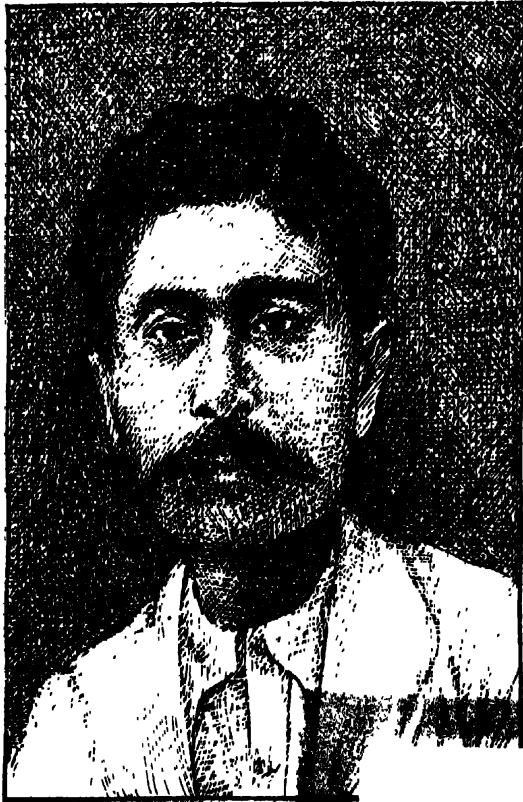
24. Lakshmināth Bēz-baruw
(1868—1931)



25. Śarat Chandra Chatterji
(1876—19 8)



26. Vallattōl Narāyaṇa Mēnōn
(1878—1958)



27. N . . .



Subrahmanya Bhāratī

